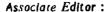
# The MODERN REVIEW

Founded by

: RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Editor

; LAKSHMI CHATTERJI



Associace Editor: SHYAMASREE LAL



JULY-**AUGUST** 1984

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#### MODERN REVIEW

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### THE MODERN REVIEW

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#### NOTES

#### THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY

Since independence, much of our planning has been motivated by the desire to fight Poverty. Many rural programmes have been taken up, stress has been laid sometimes on development projects for the landed, at others this has shifted to the landless. Generally speaking one may say that most of the programmes did not fully achieve their stated targets and in the case of some eg. The Drought Prone Areas Programme or the Minimum Needs Programme, they appear to have faded away: To all intents and purposes, the much-advertised 20-Point Programme has hardly fared very much better while implementation of either the National Rural Employment Programme, or the National Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme, has often run into heavy weather. Furthermore Loans, whether Agricultural or non-agricultural, given to the poor, have not led to the much hoped-for rate of agricultural growth or job generation, for which they had been made. At every level we are infact having to accept that in the Indian context the fight against Poverty has not been won and that in the ultimate analysis it must, in the main, consist of a continuous struggle against hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy among a host of long-standing other socio-economic causes such as low income level, uncontrolled growth of population and uneven distribution of the Nation's facilities and services.

It should be noted that every 5 year plan has aimed at increasing the food production while emphasizing the need for family planning. But inspite of some achievement in both these areas we see that the measures taken were not adequate. Hunger and malnutrition continues to stalk the land, effecting a very large number of households of those who live below the poverty line. Their

izeome level is too low for them to meet their basic needs and adjustment to upward movements of the price index is impossible for them. Nutrition in such households therefore, is largely dependant on the availability of inexpensive pulses. Studies in nutrition in such households reveal that inspite of the recommended intake per capita of 100 grams of inexpensive pulses which are the only Protein rich food available to them, their intake is approximately 40 grams per capita at present.

Stress should be laid on two other factors in this connection viz the rising prices of

pulses and the inadequate production of pulses/other Protein rich food. A cursory glance at the Price Index for 10 years (1971-81) indicates that only a limited number of households are able to consume adequate quantities of pulses such as eg dal. Furthermore the area under production of pulses shows that the yield has not appreciably increased in relation to the demand for over 20 years. This has also been due as much io increase in the production of more lucrative products such as eg Rice and Wheat as also to the effect of natural causes such as drought.

(1)	GROWTH	OF POPULATION	(Indicating Demand)	
India .	•	1961 '	1971	1981
- ,		5 10 88 ( 90	54 81 59 652	68 51 84 692

19. 1 Census shows an increase of 25% as compared to the 1-71 Census.

(Sou ce: India 984 | Iable 1-1 P-7)

#### (2) AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION (Source: India 1984-P-244)

fable 14.1	Years	relate to cr	op years ( J	uly June )	,	
Area, Production and yield of	Crors	1 <b>9</b> 60-61	1970-71 4	1980-81 - 5	193 <b>1-</b> ≀2 6	1982-83 <sup>*</sup> 7
Principal crops	RICE Yield WHEAT	1.01	1.12	1.34	1.31	1.23
	Yield PULSES	0.85	1.31	1.63	1.69	1.84
•	Yield	0 54	0.52	0.47.	0.48	0.52

Selected figures have been taken of the yield only.

Note: While yield of Rice and Wheat show increase, Pulses show decline in 1980-81 and a slight rise by 1982-83.

(	3	١	PR	ICES	OF	PU	LSES.
١.	J	,	T 84	rorn	O.		DUDU.

INDEX	PERCENTAGE
323.5	
293.9	Drop by 9.9% approx
339.2	
352.6	·
402.0	36.8% higher than a year agc.
	323.5 293.9 339.2 352.6

Source: India 1984

In conclusion we see that further investigations must be made to raise the income level of those living under the poverty line. Little or very limited effective measures have been taken to explore avenues of alternative sources of income for these That this is essential is poor households obvious as the national achievements in food grains production and distribution will necessarily have to be looked at in the context of the low cash incomes and purchasing power of the poorest section of households. Until we are able to achieve this the fight against poverty cannot be won.

#### INDUSTRIALIZATION IN AFRICA

"The survey of economic and social conditions in Africa (1982 83)" published by the U. N. Economic Commission for Africa shows that the industrialization process in Africa has slowed down from 1975, and infact it appears that some countries have undergone a process of "disindustrialization".

Generally speaking, by world standards, the Africa manufacturing sector is very small and in fact represents only one per cent of the total world out put. Between 1970-1982, no major changes appear in the position of the manufacturing industry in the economy of the region, the share in GDP being as follows:—

1970	<del></del> -	9.7%
1975		9.4%
1980		8.3%
1982	-	9.6%

Again, this also is highly concentrated in a few of the North African countries as the e contributed 48% of total output in 1982. Since 1970. Six countries have remained stable as producers of 20% of total output, rapid progress being perceptable in Tunisia, Nigeria and Zimbabwe. Among others such were Algeria, Egypt, Morocco also, and these five had more than a billion dollar value added in manufacturing in 1982. They contributed approximately 59.3% of the total fcdeveloping Africa. Overall one may sav that 12 countries accounted for approxim ately 79 5% of the total for developing Africa. The manufacturing sector is concen trated in light consumer industries such as food, Textiles, clothing, tobacco while there are some heavy industries such as chemical. basic metal and their products.

However at the other end of the scale one finds countries such as Zaire with only 2.3% output in this sector and Uganda with 4% output. In both the rate of industrialization has fallen by about 50% (7.6% in 1970 in Zaire and 7.4% in 1970 in Uganda). According to the UN survey the growth rate for the whole economy in 1984 is approximately 3% which indicates unfavourable prospects.

#### MY GIFT TO THEE

Translated from Rabindranath Tagore's "BALAKA"

By K. C. Sen (I. C. S.)

Dear, this morning what will be My gift to thee?

The song of golden Morn?

But morning droops upon its stem, outwors Before the torrid sun of noonday sky; So fade our songs, and die.

Friend, what seekest thou, when day is o'er,

A-knocking at my door?

What gift wilt thou receive?

The lamp that's lit at eve?

Alas, its light is for a corner lone and small,

A silent hall.

Wouldst take it on the road where others

fare with thee?

Alas, the free

Wild winds that wanton on thy way to-night Would slay its light.

What power have I to give thee gift, however rare?

Be it a flower, be it a garland fair,

Why wilt thou bear

Its futile burden when it fades, in noontides

glare?

Whatever gift

My hands to thee will e'er uplift

Will slip through thy finger's rift

And ever must

Mingle in the dust as nameless dust.

Better far, when in the prime
Of spring, thou'lt find the time
To walk, some day, amid my blossom'd bowers,
Listless and idle, and a sudden breath of flowers
Will hold thee entranced and still, -

That moment swift

Will be my strayed gift.

And my starred arcades

Will cast dim shadows and dreams as daylight fades,

And sudden and stark,

Slipped from evening's tresses dark;

An errant streak of light will trembling gleam

And touch and greet thy inmost dream.

That magic light, on doubious skies adrift

Will be my gift.

All my wealth is in such fleeting flash and shimmer.

It comes unbidden with songs that bring th'enamoured street

Thrills and tremors sweet,

And flies with murmurous anklets on its hurrying feet.

I know not where it doth retreat, Nor hand nor voice can reach its hidden seat.

Friend, what comes from this elusive strand

To thy hand

Unsoughten and unknown, that will be My gift to thee.

What I can give is but the trinket of an hour,.

Be it song, be it flower.

### REVEREND KRISHNA MOHAN BANERJEE

#### Dr. KALI PADA BOSE

Many talented personalities were born in Bengal from the end of the Eighteenth Century to the beginning of the Twentieth (1772-1901). In fact, during the period from the birth of Raja Ram Mohon Roy to the birth of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, the last talented all-India personality of undivided Bengal, we can mention the name of Reverend Krishna Mohon Banerjee, as an Indian who left a deep mark and impression on the intellectual life of Bengal. The time has come for us to discuss the many-sided genius of this great personality.

Reverend Krishna Mohon Banerice is not known to most Bengalis to-day. Hence, we should discuss the life and activities of this man whose name is to be found scatte-. red about in many English and Bengali books of those times. He was born on 24th May, 1813, at Jhama Pukur, Calcutte, at the house of his maternal uncle at Bechu Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. His father Jiban Krishna was a resident of Nabagram. Ramnaguri (Baruipur) and mother Sreemati was the daughter of Ramjay Vidyabhushan. Krishna Mohon was the second among three brothers and one sister, The names of the former being Bholanath, Krishna Mohon and Kali Mohon. Krishna Mohon was admitted to the Primary School of David Hare at College Street (Thanthania Area).

In 1822 he was admitted to David Hare's School as a free student and two years later to Hindu College. Four years later, in 1828, he began to study Sanskrit at the request of the Board of Professors of Hindu College and when he completed his studies here he was awarded a monthly stipend of Rupees sixteen. The same year his father Jiban Krishna died. However Krishna Mohon married Bindubasini, daughter of Radha Mohon Chatterjee the following year and was recruited as second teacher (class II) of Pataldanga School.

About this time the Academic Association with Derozio was established and Reverend Banerjee began his writing career. In 1830 "Panthenon" was published by students of Hindu College while in the next year "Reformer" was published by Prasanna Coomar Tagore in support of the Hindu Religion. In protest against this, "Enquirer", a weekly magazine, was published by Krishna Mohon. His famous drama "Persecuted" was published in 1831 also.

About this time he met Alexandar Duff and on 17th October 1831 he was initiated into Christianity by Duff. As a result he lost his appointment at Pataldanga School although some time later he became Superintendent of the Missionary School of Mirzapur. Later, the same year he delivered a

lecture against the burning of Hindu widows (Sati) at the prayer hall of the "Brahmo Samai".

In 1833, the District Charitable Society was established mainly due to his sincere endeavour. The next year, a controversy arose with Tytler, the famous orientalist of Hindu College. Although Krishna Mohon supported English education, he expressed his opinion that the medium of instruction should be in the vernacular.

In 1836, Krishna Mohon began his career as a lecturer by getting a stipend from Archbishop Dealty. The following year he became Reverend at Bishop College and sometime later began to study oriental literature at the College. The "Society for the acquisition of knowledge" was established about this time and he delivered his lecture on the "Nature and importance of Historical Studies."

In 1839 Christ Church was established adjacent to Cornwallis Square (Hedua). and he became its Bengali priest, conducting his prayers in Bengali while initiating many Hindus into Christianity in collaboration with Archbishop Dealty. Krishna Mohon intiated several members of his family as well as friends into Christianity. His wife Bindubasini was initiated by him in 1835 and his younger brother Kali Mohon in 1838. Apart from these two family members perhaps the most outstanding was the initiation of Michael Madhusudhan Dutta in 1843 and Jnannendra Kumar Tagore, in 1858. Infact, two years later Reverend Banerjee's eldest daughter Kamalmoni married Jnanendra Kumar who later on became the first Bengali, or per-

haps the first Indian Barrister. However due to his conversion to Christianity. Tagore was disinherited from his ancestral property by virtue of his father's will. Tagore filed a suit against this will which left the property to an unborn child, and the Privy Council gave the verdict in Tagore's. favour by declaring the will invalid (Tagore Vs Tagore Case—Privy Council 1869). His book "Upasana Katha" was published sometime later, when his religious lectures. were compiled. Another, book on "Native female education" was published the following year for which he was awarded Rupees Two Hundred. This book was reprinted. later with financial aid from Lady Nicholson.

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In May 1843, he became Director of Motilal Seal's Free School and some years. later, Examiner of the Hare Prize Fund His monumental book "Saradarshansar-Sangraha'' began to be written financial aid provided by Lady Hardinge. Three years later "Vidyakalpadruma" was published under the editorship of Reverend Baneriee. Sometime after. Lord Hardinge presented him the "Indian History" by Elphinston and on 1st June the following year Krishna Mohan delivered the Hare Memorial Lecture. At year end he delivered the address at the Town Hall at Lord Hardinge's farewell. His lecture on !'Female Education in India" was praised by Bethune while the following year (1850) inheritance rights were ensured for (Lacos Lasi).

The Bethune Society was established soon after and in 1852 Krishna Mohon became the third lecturer at Bishop's College at Shibpur where he donated Rupees Eight Thousand for poor students. From this time

his career improved vastly, he was appointed Examiner for I. C. S. Examination on a monthly salary of Rupees two hundred and in 1858 he was appointed Fellow of Calcutta University. Within the next three years Krishna Mohon was acclaimed as a scholar. In 1861 his famous book "Dialogue on Hindu Philosophy" was published, concerning the authenticity of the Nyaya, Vedanta, Sankhya and the Vedas. He was nominated member of the Royal Asiatic Society the same year as Vidyasagar (1864) and 3 years later he became Vice-President of Bethune Society and remained in that post till his. death. Among his other appointments at this time was that as Dean of the Faculty of Arts of Calcutta University.

"Saradarshan Sar-Sangraha" or collection of Six Philosophies was published The following year Reverend in 1867. Baneriee established Bengal Social Science Association for the study of Law, Education, Medical Science. Economics and Commerce. About this time he cut off his connections with Bishop's College and refused the offer of Bodon Professorship of Oxford University. Sometime later he delivered a lecture on the "Transliteration of Indian names of persons and place", and at the end of that year "Indian Reform Society" was established. His concern for womens welfare is reflected in his activities of those years for in 1871 we find Krishna Mohon attending lectures by Keshab Chandra Sen for the uplift of females of Bengal. About this time also his book on "Infantile marriages in India" was published.

Among his other acheivements in 1874 he became Vice-President of Bengal Social Science Association as well as President of Indian League which was formally opened in 1872. Calcutta University conferred the honour of Doctor of Law on him in 1876 and Arthur Hobhouse paid eloquet tribute to Krishna Mohon at the Convocation address in the following words:—

"He (K. M. Banerjee) too, has laboured long, honourably and successfully at the literature of his country. Of his "Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy" it has been said by Dr. Duff that they are a mine of new and authentic indication. His Bengali encyclopaedia and other works have greatly advanced our knowledge of Indian literature, politics and religion. I may add that one who has left a revered name in this country, the late Bishop Cotton, when advocating the institution of Honourary Doctorate Degrees, since 15 years ago, mentioned even the name of Dr. Banerjee as a conspicuous example of those who might fully receive such a degree".

Reverend Banerjee became first President of the Indian Association which held its inauguaral meeting on 26th July, 1876. In the same year he was awarded the C.I.E. by the Government of India. He also became the first Commissioner of Calcutta Corporation about this time,

Another not so known facet of his remarkable life was his involvement with the National problems of those times. For example in 1878 he delivered an eloquent speech against the Press Act of Lord Lytron at the Town Hall, Calcutta, in his Presidential address. His son-in-law Jnanandra Mohon Tagore also became President at a meeting held in this connection in London at that time. Again in February 1882, Krisana Mohan was President at a meeting held at the Town Hall against the lilbert Bill. The National Fund was established.

by him the following year and money was deposited in the Bengal Bank.

Another interesting incident was that in 1882 he was engaged in a controversy through correspondence with Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and William Hastie, the then Principal of Scottish Church College. Bankim Chandra wrote four letters in the Statesman under the name of Ram Chandra and disclosed his identity in the last letter. In the pen fight between Rishi Bankim, William Hastie, the then Principal of General Assembly Institution and Reverend Banerjee, Krishna Mohon wrote:

Chandra has propounded I am obliged to corfess to a sad feeling of disappointment. Whatever the pen of Kapalkundala offers to the public, is entitled to our patient attention. But what can be more startling, what more galling to our material prudence, what more opposed to our early institutions and our unwritten tradition of past ages, than the inrequivocal denial of the Vedas (which are dead) as the authoratative basis of Hinduism. This denial flatly contradicts Manuard all the authors of our sacred literature and pious contempt of the whole civilised world.

"Ram Chandra tells us that nothing has argely influenced the fate of some of the the adian people as the Tantra and of Tantra iterature the European knows next to nothing. If this has any meaning, it must be that ne Tantra with its unwritten tradition is the eneral basis of Hindu religion and consistently enough he maintains that the Hindu rorships the illict union between Purushand Prakriti retained in the illegitimate onnection of Krishna and Radha. As a sader of Kapalkundala 1 am amazed at

such statements.

"I believe that many Hindus who though inclining to the Vedanta and looking for the Mukti which it promises. nothing to say to Prakriti of which even those who do speak of Purusha and Prakriti, the vast majority, is innocent of the worship of any illicit union. If there be worshippers and imitators of illicit union they must chiefly be in circles of Mahanta and recluse hermits, whether of the Vaishnave or Sakta Sects. Householders, men of repute and society, the better classes of the Hindu Community, cannot and could not be included in such secret circles. It would be a cruel defamation to families to attribute to them belief in the system elaborated by Ram Chandra from Tantric Sources. The followers of Nyaya Vedanta and Sankhya philosophies would repudiate such an abuse of the ideas of Purusha and Prakriti and the best practical exposition of the illicit union is contained in the general romance, the Kapalkundala, the great Tantra hero of that indomitable novel is Kapalica, a representative worshipper of Bhavani Bhairavi, the personations of Sakti or Prakriti".

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At last on 11th May (29th Vaisak, 1292 B. S.) Reverend Krishna Mohon passed away at 7, Chowringhee Lane, Calcutta at the ripe age of 72. The Hindu Patriot wrote of him on 18th May 1885.

"On Monday the 11 May, there passed away from this earthly scene, the spirit of one of the foremost men in Bengal, the last of a goodly band of indigenous youths who five and fifty years ago, unlocked in this country the treasures of Western knowledge and made themselves intellectually rich. His intellect was of a

high order, not of the philosopher kind, but clear, luminous, and practical. As a citizen and Municipal Commissioner, he rendered good service to the City Corporation and as President of the Indian Association he endeavoured to do what he thought would promote the political amelioration of his countrymen."

Sir Surendra Nath, father of Indian Nationalism, wrote about Krishna Mohon in his autobiography "Nation in Making"

"The Reverend Krishna Mohon Baneriee as K.M. Baneriee) (better known among the earliest recruits to Christianity. As a scholar and a man of letters, it was not till late that he began to take an active part in politics. He was associated with the Indian League and became the President of the Indian Association. He was then past sixty and though growing years had deprived him of the alertness of youth. yet in the keenness of his interest and in the vigour and experience of his utterances he exhibited the ardour of the recruit to our rank. Never was there a man more uncompromising in what he beleved to and the truth hardly was such amiability combined with such strength and firmness."

A Hundred years have passed since the demise of that great savant. He left behind three daughters and his wife who died within a year of his demise, while his eldest daughter Kamalmani predeceased him long ago. Of his varied contributions to religion, nationalism, social reform etc. perhaps the greatest was literary. He wrote many books in both English and Bengali, but unfortunately only ten out of 15 Ben-

gali books written by him are available and similarly 12 out of 18 English book are available in the National Library Calcutta. These are as follows:

#### BENGALI

- 1. বিদ্যাক্লপদ্রম (১৩ বন্ড)—1846
- 2. যড়দর্শন সংগ্রহ—1867
- 3. ধর্মপোষক বক্ততা—1847
- 4. ইঞ্জিত দেশের প্রোব্ত (বিদ্যাক্রপদ্ম)
- 2. মতা ংম'সম্বংদীয় বিবিধ প্রফতাবের প্রচারিত উপদেশ কথা—1840
- 6. রাজদুভ (translater of William Adam's King Messenger)
- 7. Be not weary in well doing Mr. C. H. Cameron (Translated into Bengali)
- 8. The Course of durie Revolation (Muir John অনুদৈত)
- 9. A Course of sermons (অনুদিত)
- 10, ভটি কোবার 1880

#### ENGLISH

- 1. The Arion Witness—1875.
- 2. Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy-1861.
- 3. A discourse delivered at the Hindu college on Hare anniversary—1849.
- 4. An essay on Hindu caste—1851.
- 5. The Persecuted—1831 (Nov).
- 6. The Prize essay on Native female education—1841.
- 7, The proper place of oriental literature in Indian Collegiate education—1868.

- 8. F.: marks on the speeches of Earl of Ellenborough in the House of Lords on the Bengal Petition against Act XXI of 1850.
- 9. wo essays as supplement to Arian Witness—1880.
- 10. Rig-Veda Samhita-1875.
- 11. The Preservation against Romanism—
- 12. The stricture upon Hare Chandra Basu's Taraprasanna's answer upon Babu Kashinath Basu's tracts on Hinduism and Christianity—1841, অনুণিত

Besides the above books he was Editor of 'Enquirer' (1831 - 17th May to 18th June. 1335), 'Hindu Youth' (1831-19th November), 'Bengal Gazette' (1st July, Bengal Spectator, 'Government Gazette'. 'Sambad Sudhangshu. He knew eleven languages and his life and activities are available in Bengali, English books as well as Nationall Biographies. writers and personalities such as Shri Jogesh Chandra Bagal, Durgadas Lahiri, Sivanath Sastri, Gauranga Gopal Sengupta have also written about Reverend Baneriee. Perhaps the best summing up of his hopes and aspirations is found in his writings on the nature and importance of historical studies:

"The events of human life of which history treats, have proceeded from incidental and as it were casual circumstances - no blind fate had dictated them—no necessity has linked them together - heavenly phenomena have preceded, or follows them as necessary antecidents or consequences. "If the study of history is of such immense consequence to mankind in general it is

by far the more so to the persons of our present situation. We are by no means satisfied with the state of affairs around us. Shall we not then in all probability come to the possession of many means of raising our country if we attend closely to the lessons of history".

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Many years have elapsed since Krishna Mohon's demise but even now we do not know much about his various activities. May the light shown by Krishna Mohon in those dark days, lead the young men of India to action again for the uplift of the nation in all fields of action. This is our fervent prayer.

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- 2. Reverend K. M. Banerjee—Christian Missionary Society, Madras.
- 3. Directory of National Dictionary—S. P. Sen (ed)
- 4. Freedom Movement in Bengal—Govt of West Bengal (1818—1904)
- 5. সাহিত্য সাধক চরিতমালা—বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পরিষদ
- 6. স্বদেশীর ভারত বিদ্যা—পশ্ভিত গোর**দ**গোপাল সেনগ<sub>ং</sub>ত
- 7. রামতন লাহিড়ী ও তংকালীন বছসমাজ—শিবনাথ শাস্ত্রী
- 8. ভারত কো<del>ষ—বঙ্গী</del>র-স।হিত্য পরিষদ
- 9. বাজালী চলিতাভিধান—সাহিত্য সংসদ
- 01 প্রোতন প্রমান বিপিন বিহারী গ্রেপ্ত

#### COMMONWEALTH PLEA TO END PROTECTIONISM:

Dr. B. R. S. GUPTA

Commonwealth Finance Ministers called the industrial countries to roll back protectionism and prove market access to developing countries. There has also been a call substantial increase in the capital resources of the World Bank to meet the requirements of the developing countries. The world's trading system is going through a difficult period. Protectionist pressures are, if The whole system anything, intensifying could disintegrate if urgent action is not taken. Long outstanding issues in the GATT Programmes need to be resolved and substantial progress is required on such issues as safeguards, non-tariff barriers for agriculture, textiles and garments. Since early last year discussions were going on the new round of multilateral trade negotiations. The new round should have, as its central thème, the restoration of confidence in the GATT system and in finding solutions to the outstanding problems. prospect of a renewed recession would dissipate the recent progress made in the world economy. The industrialised world and debtor countries should ponder whether the world economy could risk such a prospect. Describing the debt situation as precarious. it has been urged to consider ways to reduce debt service burden through longer maturities and grace periods, interest reliefs and multiyear rescheduling. Increased concessional

flows and debt cancellation flows and other reforms of debt relief are urgently | required. When the economic prospects of poorer countries are worsening. it is essential that the IMF pay greater attention to conditionalities attached to Fund facilities, by being flexible to the adjustment needs of the member countries. It has called for an urgent reappraisal and reform of the world's financial and trading system. The deliberations of the Bank and International Monetary Fund would result in a more stable exchange rate system, improved fund surveillance of the policies of the major. industrial countries a resumption of SDR allocations and a strengthened role of the IMF in the financing of and adjustment efforts of its member countries. A positive step in this direction would be to reinstate the trust fund to provide the direct balance of payments support to low-income countries on highly concessional terms and long-pay ment periods, Much of the current anxiety is centred on the United States Budget and trade deficits, which are exacerbating protectionism and halting world recovery. Develog ping countries with a high level dependence on the economies of the developed world cannot escape the adverse consequences of these trends on the living standards of their peoples.

Economic Depression Feared: The Commonwealth Ministers warned that intensification of protectionist pressures and the growing trends towards bilateralism could lead to deep depression in the already deteriorating world economy. Ministers from both the developing countries called for substantial and rapid progress on outstanding issues of GATT (General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade) particularly—those concerning safeguards, non-tariff barriers, agriculture and textiles. This could assist in rolling back of protectionism, expressing the hope that the current

discussions on a new multilateral trade round provide impetus to the urgently needed resumption of trade liberalism. On the question of inclusion of services in the next round of talk (GATT), as advocated by the developed countries, particularly the U-S, they recognised the need for adequate exploration and prosperity work to develop modalities for discussion on such issues. Rich countries too generally shared the sentiments of poor ones on the deteriorating nature of world economy.



# AN AMERICAN WHO DEDICATED HIS LIFE FOR HINDU-BUDDHIST ASIA

Dr. BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The Emperor, Asoka Mauraya of India, 3rd Cent. B. C., and Henry Steel Olcott of . America of the 19th Century are remarkable men in the history of mankind, for they both worked for the welfare of the many, and the happiness of the many (Bahujana Hitava: Bahujana Sukaya, as expressed in Pali and Sanskrit literature). Asoka ushered in the golden period of Indian history, which the British Indologist, A. L. Basham calls the "Wonder that was India". This, in historical terminology includes with India, as the Mother civilization, all her daughter-civilizations which Asoka helped to establish in Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Java, etc. At the time Olcott came to South and South East Asia, these civilizations had decayed and most of them were living under European imperialistic domination. Asian people, more or less leaderless, were humiliated, lying almost prostrate at the feet of foreigners who were dominating and exploiting them. Olcott defied the imperial power and challenged their predatory system, and called on these Asian masses to rise up and shed their acquired centuries' old. inferiority complex, formed due to foreign domination, and to take pride in themselves. their cultures, traditions and religions.

Colonel Olcott was born on 2 August 1832 in Orange, New Jersey. After a brilliant school career at the College of New York, and Columbia University, he became a journalist. When the Civil War broke out, he gave up his newspaper work and joined the Army, attaining the rank of Colonel. He served both the Army and the Navy in special capacities, and was seriously wounded in the line of duty. When the Civil War ended, Colonel Olcott took up the study of Law, and was admitted to the Bar of New York.

The year 1874 was of special significance in the life of the Colonel. It was during that year that he was employed by the New York Sun to investigate the mystical phenomenon which took place at the Eddy Farm in New York State. His method of investigation, and his reports made a deep impression on the American public; the book he wrote, called "People of the Other World" sold out rapidly. It was in connection with those investigations that he met Madame H. P. Blavatsky at the Eddy Farm. From then on began a long friendship and collaboration with her, which lasted until her death in 1891. In 1873 they formed the Theosophical

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Society in New York. During this time, Colonel Olcott became interested in Oriental religions, especially Buddhism.

He set out with Madame Blavatsky for India in 1878 to study various religions there. and they arrived in Sri Lanka (Cevlon) on 17 May 1880. When Olcott went to India, its magnificent civilization was in a state of decay. He was first in Bombay in 1879 with a Swadeshi exhibition of Indian manufacturers to show the public of India the beautiful things that were being produced by Indian craftsmen. These crafts were slowly being forgotten in India because Indians had lost interest in them. In short, he stimulated India's interest in her past glories, after a deep slumber of ages and this was longbefore Mahatma Gandhi, who led the Indian masses to freedom. Colonel Olcott's work. later stimulated the formation of the Indian National Congress, and in fact his influence was so great on both the elite and the masses of India, that his successor to the Presidentsaip of the Theosophical Society who was his personal nominee, Dr. Annie Besant, an Irish Lady, became the first President of the Indian National Congress, on its very inception.

Col. Olcott also fought against the Indian caste-system wich was one of the causes of the downfall of the great Indian civilization, and made every effort to get India to forbid this evil social system, He founded schools for the members of the depressed classes in South India, and this reform movement was greatly assisted by the expansion of the Theosophical Headquarters at Adyar in South India.

In May 1880 Col Olcott and Madame

Blavatsky arrived by ship at Galle, South, Sri Lanka, about 75 miles from Colombo, and were received with tumultous welcome-from the Buddhists. Sometime later both Olcott and Mademe Blavatsky embraced Buddhism.

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What profoundly influenced Col. Olcott to adopt Buddhism as his religion was his study of the famous public debates that took place in 1873 at Panadura, a small town 20 miles from Sri Lanka's (Ceylon) capitol. These debates erupted between the incumbent Monk, venerable Megettuvatte Gunananda of Kotahena Temple, and his adversaries in the Christian priesthood, occasioned by the persecution by Christian missionaries of the Buddhists under the British Colonial Administration.

The two decades between 1870 and 1890 were a crucial period in the history of modern Sri Lanka. These years witnessed a spectacular revival in that country of Buddhism, Buddist culture, and Buddhist education. In this revival, a notable role was played by Col. Olcott, and his pupil, the venerable Anagarika Dharmapala.

It is recorded in history that Emperor Asoke sent his own son and daughter to Sri Lanka for Buddhist missionary work in the 3rd Cent, B, C. With the adoption of Buddhism as the State religion, the Singhalese civilization of Sri Lanka blossomed into its golden period. When Col. Olcott came to Sri Lanka in 1880, that civilization was in a state of decay, and he found there were only three Buddhist schools in that country. The educational system was dominated and dictated by the Christian Churches who discriminated against

the Buddhists and compelled them not only to go to Christian schools, but also to to get marriage certificates issued only in Christian churches. It was a time when Buddhists were frightened and ashamed to call themselves Buddhists openly, due to fear of economic persecution by the missionaries.

Col. Olcott revolted against this preiudice. He theretore started the Buddhist educational movement, and founded the Colombo Branch of the Buddhist Theosophical Society. Col. Olcott and Ven. Anagarika Dharmapala travelled from village to village on foot and by bullock cart, exhorting the people to follow Buhism, and collecting funds. Principally. one may say that it is to the credit of Col. Olcott, that there are about 12 large colleges and over 400 Buddhist schools on the Island which have now been handed over to the Government under the recent Nationalization Act.

One of the first things Col. Olcott did while organizing the Sri Lanka educational system was to compose a Buddhist Catechism so that Buddhists could teach their children, this Buddhist Catechism, which was endorsed by the High priest, Sumangala, as one of the most striking contributions to the resuscitation of Buddhism. The Catechism was first published in Singhalese on -4 July 1881, and later in English and several other languages. As this Catechism was too advanced for some of the children, a simpler and more . elementary one was prepared by the Rev. C. W. Leadbeater, a British collaborator of the Colonel. Col. Olcott's Catechism has now gone through 44 English editions,

and probably more in Singhalese.

At this point Col. Olcott felt the need for a symbol to rally the local Buddhists. To meet this need, he designed a flag for the Buddhists from the aura that shone around the head of the Buddha. The Colonel's flag, in the course of time, came to symbolize the unity of all Buddhists. It was accepted as the international Buddhist flag by the World Pellowship of Buddhists, which met in Japan in 1952. From then on, it came into use on a world-wide scale, and is now being used in nearly 60 countries, in festivities, and particularly at the celebration of the birthday of the Buddha.

.Col. Olcott travelled widely in the East and in Europe on lecture tours. He was also associated with the revival of Budchism in Japan, and visited that country twice. On his first visit in 1888, he gave 70 lectures. and on his second visit in 1890, he brought the Mahayana Buddhists of Japan, Korea, China and Vietnam into closer co-operation with the Theravada Buddhists of India. Burma, Sri-Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos, by calling their attention to the fundamental principles of Buddhism which are common to all Schools and sects. Thereby, he established a common platform for all Buddhists, whether of the Northern or the Southern School.

He also established the Adyar Oriental Library in Madras in 1886, which became one of the famous Oriental Institutions of the world, and during the course of his life, he collected and preserved rare Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, Burmese and Singhalese manuscripts which were fast becoming unavailable. The Institution was dedicated

to the revival of ancient learning and its connection with the great religions of India. In this library there are over 20,000 palmleaf manuscripts. Copies of them are made in the Library, and are made available to other research libraries of the world.

In December of 1906, Olcott left his Buddhist bastion of Sri Lanka, perhaps not realizing he may be leaving her forever, never to return again. He settled in his personal college in the Theosophical Headquarters at Adyar, Madras, There, in his great spritual adopted land of India, after a brief illness, he passed away in January 1907. Succeeding him was the remarkable lady he had nominated. Dr. Annie Besant.

It can be safely asserted that the nameof Colonel Olcott is honoured in Hindu-Buddhist Asia from India-Tibet-Sri Lanka to Japan, more than any other American who had lived and died in Asia. Lanka's educational system the national Buddhist flag, and the Advar Oriental Library stand to this day as living monuments to his greatness. This remarkable man did much by reawakening the spirit of love and respect for their own religious. traditions, art and culture of India, Sri Lanka and all of the South East Asian lands. These South and East Asian masses revere his memory and his name shines in the annals of India and Sri Lanka specially.



# AN ANCIENT MAHISYA RAJ-FAMILY Dr. TAPENDRA NARAYAN DAS

In the history of the royal families belonging to the Mahisya Community the Mayuradhwai Raj-family of Tamluk is the oldest. The diffused history of this dynasty is still a matter of research. The present royal family of Tamluk is the family of Mayuradhwai, the ancient king depicted in the Mahabharata. The King of Tamralipta was mentioned first in the Adiparba of the Mahabharata at the wedding ceremony of Draupadi. Showing the Kings assembled Dhristadyumna said to his sister Draupadi: 'Brihanta, Maniman, Dandadhar, Sahadev, Javatsen, Meghasandhi, Birat and his sons Sankha and Uttar, Bardhakshemi, Susarma, Senabindu. Suketu and his sons Sunama and Subarcha, Suchitra, Sukumar, Brika, Satyadhriti, Suryadhwaj, Rochaman, Nil, Chitrayudh, Ansuman, Sroniman, Chekitan, valiant Chandra Sen, the son of Samudra Sen. Jalasandha, Bidanda and his son Danda, Basudev, the Paundrak, Bhagadatta, the King of Kalinga, Tamralipta, Pattan, the King of Madra and his son Salya, Rukmangad. Rukmarath, Kaurabya Somdatta and his son Bhuri, Bhurisrabah. Salya Sudakshin. Kamboj, Paurab, Drihadhanwa, Brihadbal, Susen, Patachchar, Sibi, Ausinar, Nihanta, the King of Karusa, Sankarsan, Basudev. Raukmineya, Samba, Chanidesna, Paradyu-Gada, Akrar. Satyaki, Uddhab. Kritabarma, Hardikya Prithu Biprithu, Bidurath, Kanna, Sanku, Gabesan, Asabaha.

Aniruddha, Samik, Sarimejay, Batapati, Jhillipindarak and Usinar, belonging to the Yadu dynasty and Bhagirath, Brihatkshetra Jayadratha, the King of Sindhu, Bahlik, Snitayu, Uluk, Kaitab, Chitrangad, Subhangad, the King of Batsa, the King of Kosal, Sisupal, Jarasandha-these Kings will shoot the target to marry you. O Lady! 'you will garland him who will be able to shoot the mark." The King of Tamralipta was mentioned again in the Sibhaparba of the Mahabharata in respect of the world conquest of Bhim' Then having defeated the two valiant heroes-Basudev, the King of Pundra, and king Moharia the inhabitant of Kausikachcha, valiant Bhim rushed towards the King of Banga. Then he conquered Samudra Sen. Chandra Sen, the King of Tamralipta, the King of Karbat, the kings of Banga, the king of Suhma and the Mlechehas on Though the King the Seashore. Tamralipta had been metioned in the Adiparba and Sabhaparba of the Mahabharat, his name was not traced there.

The name of the King of Tamralipta was traced as Mayuradhwaj in the Aswamedhik Parba of the Mahabharata of Jaimini (Chapter 41-46). We get in the 41st chapter of the Jaimini Bharata:

পরাং প্রমক্তো রাজেন্ত তৈঃ সক্ষৈত্র হাবলৈঃ বাবং প্রয়াতিত্যরগণতাবং তাদুক্তরুসঃ

Dr. Tapendra Narayan Das M. A., Ph. D. (Cal.) Member: Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Life Member: Tamralipta Swadhinata Sangram Itihas Committee বীক্ষিতো রক্ষতাস্বংহি বাজিসেধ ত্রেপ্সমং প্রবৃত্তং রক্ষনগরাৎ স্বপিত্রবহিবৈত্না তাম্মধক্ষয় হংসং তমক্ষ্রস্য হয়ো বধে ॥

রণভ্মিং পরিতাজ্য সমায়হি বতোরজে
পিতাস্য দীক্ষিতঃ পার্থ বিদ্যতে নর্মাদাতটে
শুরোয়ং জিতকামশ্ত্র সতাবাগনস্থকঃ ।।
ন বোহনীয় পার্থেন সতামেতদ্বদামি তে ।। 3

[O Emperor! when the valuant heroes with Krishna freed the horse from the city, at the time of departure of the horse, it fell at sight of Rajarshi Tamradhwaj. He was engaged by his father Barhadhwaj (Mayuradhwaj) in protecting the sacrificial horse at it proceeded from the city of Ratnanagar, and the horse of Arjun went to his horse.

Parthal having left the battlefield come with me, His father Barhadhwaj has been initiated for sacrifice on the bank of the Narmsda. He has subdued his anger, desire and malice. He is a hero, Hence you should not fight with him.]

Having collected the theme Kasiram Das the mediaeval Poet of Bengal, wrote about Mayuradhwaj and his son Tamradhwaj. The narrative of this part of Kasidas's Mahabharata is similar to that of Jaimini—Bharata. The episode in the Mahabharata of Kasiram Das is as fellows:

Mayuradhwaj, the emperor of the city of Ratnabati, arranged for the Ceremony of Horse Sacrifice. His son Tamradhwaj was protecting the sacrificial horse of his father on the bank of the Narmada. In the meanwhile Arjum, the third Pandav, and Sri Krishna came to Tamradhwaj with the

Sacrificial horse of Yudhisthir, the son of The valiant hero Tamradhwai directed his followers to seize their horse. When the Pandava-group was defeated in battle. Sri Krishna revealed his identity to Ariun and requested him not to fight with Tamradhwaj. At the request of Krishna, Arjun gave up fighting smislingly. Having Won the battle Tamradhwai came back to his father with his army and in all humility, narrating the battle on the bank of the Narmada regarding the Sacrificial horse, announced the arrival of Krishna and Ariun. King Mayuradh wai was a great devotee of Sri Krishna and a bounteous Vaishnab. Hearing all this from his son. Mayuradhwai became glad. because Sir Krishna on 'arriving at his city of Ratnabati, would bless him by visiting him.

Sri Krishna and Ariun entered royal Court of Mayuradhwaj in the guise of the Brahmins to examine the devotee. Leaving the throne the emperor showed respect befitting by and asked them the cause of their arrival. Sri Krishna, in the guise of a Brahmin, said that at the time of his arrival with all his invited Kinsmen at the wedding Ceremony of his own son being held at the residence Krishna Sarma, a Brahmin inhabitant of the city of Ratnabati, he was obstructed by a lion on the way. The lion wished to have the tender flesh of his young son who was ready for marriage. When the old Brahmin begged the life of his son in exchange of his own life, the lion agreed on condition that he would release his son in exchange of the right limb of King Mayuradhwaj. Having heard the matter from the Brahmin, Tamradhwai became ready to sacrifice himself to the lion in

lieu of his father. But according to the condition of the lion Mayuradhwaj would have to sacrifice hirself. Queen Kumudbati was ready to sacifice herself and the lion claimed only half portion of the king. Hence she thought that her sacrifice was better. Then Sri Krishna in the guise of a Brahamin said:

নারী বামঅঙ্গে মোর নাহি প্রয়োজনে।
দক্ষিনাল হৈত্ব সিংহ কহিল আমারে
যাচিঞা করিন, আমি তোমার গোচরে।।5

Then when Tamradhwaj and Queen Kumudbati began to bisect the King with a saw, the left eye of the King was filled with tears. Krishna said smilingly that he could not accept the donation of irreverence of the King, because being distressed at the time of sacrifice Mayuradhwaj wept as his left eye was filled with tears. Mayuradhwaj replied:

দক্ষিনাদ ত্রিম মম করিলে গাহন। অভিমানে ব্যাচক্ষর করয়ে ক্রন্য।।।

Then Sri Krish na, giving up his disguise, revealed his own identity and King Mayuardhwaj with his son and wife eulogized Srikrishna saying that he had no need to offer horse-sacrifice, because he had obtained the benefit of this sacrifice through the sacred touch of Lord Krishna. Sri Krishna invited him to take part in the sacrifice of King Yudhisthir and the King accepted the same gladly. He entrusted his son Tamradhwaj with the work of protecting the city and went with Arjun.7 Mayuradhwai the King of the city Ratnabati and the King of Tamralipts depicted in the Mahabharata are one and the same and the present Raj- family of Tamluk are the

descendants of King Mayuradhwaj.

Many annalists have discussed royal family of Tamluk. Many of them have been confused in arriving at an archaeological decision regarding the name of ancient King Mayuradhwai of the age of the Mahabharata. In 1304 B.S. Suresh Chandra Samaipati in the journal 'Sahitya' edited by himself published the extract of the article 'Prachin-Tamralipta' written by Rajendraial Gupta. In the article it has been written regarding this royal family: 'The Present King of Tamluk boasts that they have originated from the ancient Maurya dynasty. But the Mauryas were Rajputs and the present king is Kaibarta.'8 This is a matter of research as to whethter the Mayur dynasty of Tamluk and the Maurva dynasty of Magadh written by Sri Samajpati are not the same. According to Sanskrit phonetics the pronunciation of the word 'মৌৰ' is 'মউরিঅ'. The cause of the Confusion of Sri Samajpati is the phonological analogy of the two words 'ময়ার' and 'মউরিঅ'. The Maurya Kings of Sri Samajpati are originally the ancestors of Ugras of Present Bengal. In the Vishuu Purana (Chapter-24, Sloka-4)-we get a King named Mahapadma who was a son of a Kshatriya named Mahanandi in the womb of his Sudra wife.

মহানন্দিস্তঃ শ্বদ্যাগভেণাদ্ভবো ইতিলব্দ্ধো মহাপদ্মানদাঃ

পরশ্রোম ইবাপ্রোইখিলক দ্রান্তকারী ভবিতা 15

This family of Mahapadmananda is regarded as the Nanda dynasty. According to the annalists Maurya Chandragupta was born in this Nanda dynasty and being an object of displeasure of the King of the Nanda dynasty, he left Magadh. 10 In the writings of the Greek

annalists we get the existence of a King named Agrammes or Xandrammes. He was Augrasainva the son of Ugrasen. Probably Mahapadmananda of the Purana Horasen denicted in the Bodhivamsa' and he was the father of Augrasainya. Agrammes was depicted by the Greek writers as the son of a barber. Again with the testmony of the Jaina work "Hem Chandra Parisista Parba' Mahapadmananda was the son barber." This Mahapadmananda has been depicted in the Purana as the son of a Sudra woman. The Nanda dynasty of India and the descendants of Chandragunta Maurva which originated from the Nanda dynasty nave been regarded as Ugra since they are the offspring of Ugrasen. According to the Manusamhita (Chapter-10. Sloka-9):

ক্ষতিয়াচ্ছদ্রকন্যায়াং জুরাচার বিহারবান্। ক্ষত্রশূদ্রবপ্তর্ভান্তর নাম প্রজায়তে।।12

[Those who are originated from Kshatriya in the womb of Sudra woman and according to the innate tendency of the Kshatriya and Sudra who are engaged in cruel practices are called Ugra.]

The difference between the Ugra and the Mahisya has been stated clearly in the Yagabalkya Samhita:

दिनाम्बद्धान्य ताकना भाषित्याला न्यत्वीन्यराजे ।13

[The son of the Kshatriya in the womb of a Baisya woman is called Mahisya and that in the womb of Sudra woman is called Ugra.]

Hence the Maurya dynasty of the article

of Sri Samajpati originated from the Ugra dynasty and the Mayur Raj-family of Tamralipta belongs to the Mahisika or Mahisya dynasty.

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In regard to the royal family of Mayuradhwaj the statement of Sebananda Bharati in his book 'Tamiuker Itihas' is truely remarkable: 'The blood of Rajarshi Mayuradhwaj to the present King Surendranarayan has been flowing in an unbroken line, from the concluding period of the Mahabharata. Those who were sonless adopted members originating from their own family and kept the blood line uninterrupted. The present Kings are regarded as 'sons of Tamradhwai'. Debayamsa.'14

Two genealogical records have been preserved in the royal family of Tamluk. One is ancient, and is being preserved by the descendants from generation to generation. It has been written in Bengali. The other is a printed one. It is written in a mixture of Muslim royal language under the system of court and Zemindary of Muslim rule. Probably it was written in acceptable form from the ancient genealogical records for the purpose of landhol ding and was printed afterwards.

It has been traced from the genealogical records preserved in the royal family of Tamluk that the distance between the time of Rajarshi Mayuradhwaj and that of Raja Birendranarayan is of 58 descendants. If we count 100 years for 4 descendants according to the rules of historical studies, we would notice that this dynasty had started before 1450—1500 years i, e. in 5th or 6th century A. D. If we accept this timeline, a problem arises with Mayuradhwaj

of the Mahabharata who was the first progenitor of this family, because the relation between the time of the battle Kurukshetra and that of Mavauradhwai Now a question arises ther the genealogical record preserved in the royal family it valid or not. The genealogical records of the ancient royal families were collected and preserved mainly by the Sutas or Bhats We can say with the testimony of the Puranas that all the names of the major or minor kings were not accepted in it. It seems that the first progenitor and the major royal characters were noted in . We get from the Vishnupnrana (Chaturthamsa. Chapter-24. Slokas 43 and 44):

> বাক্ষণঃ ক্ষত্রিয়া বৈশ্যাঃ শ্রেণ্চ শ্বিজসওম। বংগে বংগে মহাত্মনঃ সমতীতাঃ সহসাকঃ।। বহাজান্মধেয়ানাং পরিসংখা। কালে কালে। পানবাক বহাজাং তান ময়া পরিকীতিতা।।15

[Oh the best of the twice—borns! innumerable poble men of the Brahmins, Ksbatriyas, Baisyas and Sudras passed age after age. I do not indicate their enumeration in genealogy for abundance and repitition.]

Probably the names of all the Kings were not placed in the record of the royal dynasty of Tamluk. The names of the first progenitor and the famous Kings were collected in it. So the actual number of the Kings in this family till the present time is much more than 58.

Rajarshi Mayuradhwaj, the first progenitor of this family has been depicted as the emperor of the city of Ratnavati in the Jaimini—Mahabharata and in the Aswamedhparba of the Bengali Mahabharata composed by Kasiram Das.

র°নাবতী প্ররে সে ময়্রধ্বজ নাম।
বড়ই ধান্মিক রাজা সর্বাগ্রনধাম।।
সংগ্রামে নহিক কেহ তাহার সমান।
তার নামে বারগন হয় কম্পমান।।
অশ্বামেধ যজ্ঞ করিবেন নরপতি।
অশ্বারক্ষণ করে তামারবক্ষ মহামতি।।16

King Mayuradhwai was not depicted the King of Tampaliota in Mahabharata Kasiram Das. So & of question arises whether Mayuradhwai, the King of Tamralipta, and Mayuradhwai. the King of the city of Ratnavati, are the same and identical, or not. It may be inferred that the name of Tamralipta was changed time after time and noted in different names as it was a very ancien? kingdom. Port and town of Bengal. It is not unreasonable to corjecture that the city of Tamralipta of Mayuradhwai was called the city of Ratnavati at sometime, in the past. Such statement has been notices in Mr. Hunter's 'History of Orissa': 'The local name of Ratnavati still survives at Tamluk',17

present royal family are the descendants of the Gangazidi Raj-fami'y described by the Greek writers and the Mahisyas of Tamluk—centric Dakshin-Rarh Gangararhi alive the have kept It has been supported in the nation. by Bankim Kalanka' article Banglar Chandra Chattopadhyay: 'The Kingdom of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa spread from the Godavari to the Saraswati i.e. to Tribeni of Bengal. Now all the places

which are the districts of Midnapore and Howrah and some portion of the places which are under the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly, were under their This is the ancestral kingdom territory. o the Ginga dynasty'.18 Anantabarmi-Kolahai, one of the kings belonging to the Mayuradhwaj dynasty which was a Gangararhi-Manisva. the of conquered Utkal in the eleventh century. Tais Kalinga-conquest was supported in the writings of Mr. Wilson: 'An inscription procured since Mr. Starling wrote, by Mr. Colvin, shows that Choraganga was not the founder of Ganga-Vansa family, but that the first who came into Kalinga, was Ananta Verma-also called Kolahala, sovereign of Ganga Rorhi-the low country on the right bank of the Midnapore: this Ganges-Tumlook and occured at the end of the eleventh century of our era, and from that till the beginning of the sixteenth the same family occupied the province of Orissa.'19

Having seen in the genealogical record the diverse titles after the names of the belonging to Tamralipta Kings family, the annalists became confounded and opined that the stream of the royal dynasty was not uninterrupted. In this regard we may cite the statement Trailokya Rakshit in his work 'Tamoluk Itihas': 'When Nihsankanarayan, the last Kshatriya King of the Mayura dynasty, died in a sonless state. Kalu Bhuinya, the powerful aborigin king, ascended the throne. He is the first Kaibarta king and is the founder of the Kaibarta royal The cited statement of Sri family'.20 Rakshit is not reasonable. The death of Raja Nihsankanarayan in a sonless condition is not supported or traced in the genealogy or history of this family. In the genealogy different titles of the Kings like Dhwai. Bhuinya Ray-Bhuinya, Ray etc. are seen. The cause of the confusion historians lies in the different titles of the Kings. The ancestral titles after the names of the Kings are not in the copper-plates of the Kings till the time of the Kings belonging to the Chandra dynasty of Bengal. The words 'Pai' and 'Chandra' have been added after the names of the Kings belonging to the 'Pal' and 'Chandra' dynasties of Bengal not as ancestral title. Titleless name was one of the characteristics of the names in ancient Bengal. Hence no title has been traced after the names of the Kings upto Nihsankanarayan (Probably at the beginning of the 13th century) according to the ancient name character. Secondly. the convention of changing the title in the Ganga dynasty is not unheeded. The dynasty of genealogy of the Ganga recorded Dr. Rakhaldas Orissa bv Bandyapadhyay in his 'Bangalar Itihas' Vol. II is as follows:

Sakapratap Dev.

Narasinha Raj Jena.

Raghuram Jena.

Mukunda Dev.21

Hence having seen the different titles after the names of the Kings of Mayura dynasty, it is baseless to infer that there is more than one dynasty in the genealogical record preserved in the royal family of Tamluk. But it is not possible now to ascertain the time of the beginning of this dynasty or the actual number of Kings who reigned in this family.

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### Current Affairs

# CHANGES IN BANKING LAW Larry E. White writes:

The US financial sector in general and the banking sector specifically, has been evolving during the 20th century and at an accelerated rate since the mid-1970s. Finally, in 1980 and 1982, the legislation has been passed to meet the needs of the changing banking system. The following will highlight both the evolutionary changes in banking and recent banking legislation.

Fransition Period: 1933-1980

On 16 June 1933, the Banking Act of 1933, also known as the Glass-Steagall Act, was passed by Congress and had important and long-range effects the banking system of the US. While the main purpose of the bill was to establish the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FD(C), it also redefined Regulation Q, which limited the amount of interest paid bank accounts. It specifically set a zero interest ceiling on accounts were payable upon demand and established a framework so that ceiling rates could be set and adjusted on other accounts. Many banks had failed during the early years of the Depression, and this act was

an attempt to maintain the solvency of the remaining banks. The FDIC protected bank customers against default, while interest rate ceilings were an attempt to lower bank costs legislatively in order to discourage the need for high-risk bank assets. Whether the bill achieved its objectives is subject to debate, but the evolution of the banking industry that took place between 1933 and 1980 mandated a change in banking laws.

The period from 1933 to 1980 was one of financial evolution that was not accompanied by adequate legal evolution. Banking changed substantially, but banking laws did not. During the 1940s, 1950s. and 1960s it was easy for anyone to distinguish one financial institution from another. Banks, which were protected by the FDIC, held demand deposits (checking accounts) and made commercial loans; savings and loans, which were protected by the FSLIC, held savings accounts and long-term residential mortgages: retail businesses. like Sears, and brokerage houses, like Merrill Linch, were not protected because they did not accept deposits. As interest rates began to rise in the post-war period, Regulation Q became a binding constraint, and the evolution of financial sector accelerated. Banks S & Ls, and the like began to assimilate into somewhat indistinguishible financial or depository institutions. An early step of transition was to circumvent Regulation Q. To avoid Regulation O's zero interest rate ceiling on demand deposits. hanks offered payments in kind and certain insitntional innovations to their customers. Payment in kind ranged from a free toaster for opening an account to free checking privileges and similar services. Overnight **Eurodollars** and repurchase agreements allowed large deposit customers to have access to funds 'during business hours while earning an interest payment on that portion of the total still on account at closing time....In 1970. Consumer Savings Bank of Worchester. Massachusetts offered a negotiable order of withdrawal account for the first time. With certain restrictions, small deposit customers, as well as large, could have an interest-paving accounts were checking account. NOW eventually allowed by the federal authority in New England and New York. In the mid 1970s, brokerage houses began to offer money market mutual funds as an alternative to savings accounts. Small depositors who could not afford the \$100, 000 needed to purchase a Treasury bill could pool their money through a brokerage house to receive a closer-to-market rate of interest...By 1979, financial institutions had evolved to a point that the Gl'ss-Steagall Act was obsolete and changes had to be made.

#### DEPOSITORY INSTITUTIONS DERE-GULATION AND MONETARY CONFROL ACT OF 1980

The first of these changes was the Depository Institutions Deregulation and Monetary Control Act of 1980 (DIDMCA).

Instead of referring specifically to "banks." "S & Ls." and so on, as before, the act redefined "depository institution." A depository institution is one in which checking, saving and/or other types of accounts are held and insured against loss by the FDIC: the FSLIC, or similar nonfederal agencies. It also defined "transaction account" to include all accounts in which the balance could be altered upon demand, it paid interest or not. Specifically, it included checking. NOW, ATS (automatic transfer from saving), and credit union share draft accounts....It also established the Depository Institutions Deregulation Committee, (DIDC), whose responsibility was to supervise the six-vear phase out of Regulation O. By 1986, the interest rate paid on transaction account would be solely controlled by each particular depository institution. In terms of monetary control. the DIDMCA established uniform reserve requirements for all depository institutions... Finally, the DIDMCA allowed savings and loans to have 20 percent of their portfolios made up of consumer loans, corporate debt securities, and commercial This was done to assist S & Ls to bal nce the duration of their assets and liabilities.

While the DIDMCA took a big step torward in modernizing banking laws, certain transitional developments had teken place that still left some institutions at a disadvantage. Specifically, savings and loans were still tied to long-term, fixed-rate mortgages as assets, with short-term, often volatile, liabilities. The allowance of consumer loans and the holding of commercial paper had not eliminated this disparity. A second development was probably caused by the 1980 act. As competition increased in a bidding for funds, certain institutions became insolvent.

due to the higher cost of operation. Even when nearly all deposits are insured, a more common practice is the assumption of assets and liabilities by another institution. When the liabilities are assumed, depositors lose nothing, whereas an FDIC payment could result in a loss to those depositors whose accounts are above FDIC limits. The law pertaining to these assumptions prohibited cut-of-state assumption and in certain cases, called for FDIC payment.

#### Garn-St Germain Act, 1982

In 1982, Congress passed the Garn-St Germain Act to further the modernization of banking laws. While the main focus of this bill was to allow S&Ls to compete on a more equal basis with other depository institutions, it also included provisions for new accounts and failure assumptions by out of state banks. The act allowed for money market deposit accounts (MMDA) on 14 December 1982, and Super-NOW accounts 22 days later on 5 January 1983....The changes with respect to S&Ls were more significant than those associated with DIDMCA. Garn-St Germain allowed S&Ls to hold demand deposit accounts, revised the law so as to make their investment in state and local obligations easier, and most important, removed the restriction on commercial loans.... Finally, the law concerning the assumption of an insolvent bank was revised. A priority list was devised so that under certain conditions an out-of-state bank could assume the assets and liabilities of an insolvent bank. Hence, the door was open for some forms of interstate banking, a door that had previously been closed.

#### CONCLUSION

The DIDMCA in 1980 and the Garn-St Germain Act in 1982 stand as the most sweeping bank reforms since 1933. Glass-Steagall Act served to regulate banking during the Depression and thereafter. While minor revisions fine-tuned the law. banking practices changed much more rapidly than the law accompanying them. As is often the case when laws become outmoded, those being regulated by the law found methods of circumvention. an attempt to gain more uniform control and to allow more competition between financial institutions, Congress chose to deregulate, or more appropriately, re-regulate the banking industry. The DIDMCA. and the Garn-St Germain Act will undoubtedly be followed by a series of finetuning bills, just as Glass-Steagall was. Hopefully, as the banking and financial evolution continues, the accompanying laws will change to maintain the equality and competition. established by the 1980 and 1982 acts.

-Illinois Business Review February 1984

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## NAM: INDIA ON A RESPONSIBLE MISSION

Nikolai Obotov, APN Analyst Writes:
When, a year ago, Mrs. Indira Gandhicame to hold the important post of Chairperson of the non-aligned movement, observers opined that the mission entrusted to her is as honourable as it is responsible.

The events of last year have corroborated this opinion. From the standpoint of the

International situation, this was a grim year. It was grim for every member of the world community, particularly for the young states, most of which belong to the non-aligned movement.

The past year was marked by growing military tension.... The past year has also revealed still more clearly such a trend in Washington's policy as complete disregard for the lawful interests of the young states. If his appetite, as Ronald Reagan put it himself, is not ruined by the fact that a hundred countries in the United Nations disagree with the USA on any question, one can safely say that the opinion of non-aligned countries is a matter of absolute indifference to the US President....

For instance, in his address to the UN General Assembly the US President contemptuously referred to the non-aligned movement as "pseudo-non-alignment"....

Observers pointed out in this connection that Reagan is patently following in the footsteps of John Foster Dulles, who openly described the non-aligned movement as "immoral".

What really matters is that non-aligned countries have never before become the object of such high-handed pressure from the USA as they are under the Reagan administration.

Suffice it to say that in the last six years alone the US administration has taken recourse to the use of threat of military force 40 times. In the conditions of an unprecedented arms build-up by the United States and its course for the militarisation of its allies and friends, the security, sovereignty

and territorial integrity of independent states are subjected to particularly severe tests.

This is evidenced by the example of Grenada, with which Washington wanted to show that it would stop at nothing for the sake of "protection" of its "vital interests"....

One cannot help noting that India is the object of attacks though Washington has long pursued an inimical campaign against India, it was particularly intensified after New Delhi had been chosen as the venue of the Seventh non-aligned Summit....

Drastic cuts were made in economic aid from the US-controlled international banks. ... There was an increase in US arms supplies to Pakistan whose leaders have assumed the role of a pawn in the Anti-Indian game for Washington's arms and dollar aid. The USA is seeking new places in the region so as to make the ring of hostile encirclement around India complete....

A year ago, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, addressing the participants in the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit, urged them to voice again their conviction that independence, development, disarmament and peace are indivisible. Mrs. Gandhi appealed to them to reaffirm the invariable faith in the five principles of peaceful coexistence making up the basis of a policy of non-alignment.

APN 14, 3, 1984

#### DANGEROUS PLANS

#### B. Barakhta Writes:

The ruling Liberal Democratic Party of

Japan is working out ammendments to the law on the armed forces now in force in the country. The essence of Tokyo's dangerous intentions is to give the military command unlimited powers and to acknowledge, among other things, its right to wage hastilities abroad under the pretext of "cefeding the Japanese citizens".

It is easy to picture the consequences a step of this sort may entail for many Asian and Pacific states. Japanese businessmen, companies and experts work in many of them. So, Tokyo is planning to ensure their presence in the region by rapid muscle-ruilding.

In defiance of the Constitution, the Japanese Government has already turned the country's self-defence force into fullblooded armed forces and continues to build up its qualitative and quantitative military potential. The Japanese army's strength is 300,000, and it consists of 13 well trained and mobile divisions. In combat power, Japan ranks eighth in the world and is one of the strongest in Asia.

Japan has committed itself to exercise military patrolling of the Pacific Sea communications within the range of up to one thousand miles from its shores. Thus, the US has shifted part of its military tasks in the north-western zone of the Pacific Ocean, from the Guam island over to the Philippines, onto Tokyo. A few days ago, Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone underscored the importance of this step and said that the draft state budget for 1984-1985 puts a special accent on the "defence" of the sea communications. For instance, it provides for the building of three more destroyers and for the purchasing of eight R-3s Orion anti

submarine aircraft and 17 F-15 fighters.

The Japanese Defence Agency has long been willing to rid itself of the control by the civilian bodies. The Defence Agency report submitted recently to the Government suggests that the military department be given the powers to initiate military operations without the order of Prime Minister and Parliament. Under the pretext of defending the Japanese citizens abroad the contemplated ammendment to the current law on the armed forces will give the Japanese military broad powers and let them operate far beyond the borders of Japan of their own accord.

APN 23, 3, 1984

Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

ALL INDIA IARF CONFERENCE

Working Group 1

REVELATION AND TOLERANCE (The Islamic Perspective)

It is the basic constituent of Muslim belief that Quran is the word of God and as such it is not subject to any alteration. Its message is eternal and is addressed to all mankind irrespective of race and ethnic diversity. The substance of revelation is embodied in the opening Surah-al-Fatiha. Moreover almost every Surah of the Quran begins with the name of God who is Allmerciful and All-gracious (Al-Rahman Al Rahim). God is called the Lord of the worlds which means He is the Lord of all creation, be it of the tiny planet of ours

or the worlds without number which the astronomers speak of. This means that the Quranic revelation is tuned to the idea of a God who is all-merciful and without whose guidance we cannot walk on the straight path (al-Sirat al-Mustaqim) This shows that the spirit of the Quran is tolerant through and through.

But we should not forget that Islam is also as much a historical phenomenon as any other religion and the Prophet of Islam is a historical figure and not a fiction. He appeared in the limelight of history and no one has vet dared to challenge his historical existence. He appeared in a hosile atmosphere, facing confrontation at every step and meeting the challenges of the situation with the guidance of revelation. The Prophet of Islam was not just a messenger (Nabi) with a divine message but also a rasul whose function it was to give Law and to regulate a society which was in a state of chaos and to bring thogether the warring tribal factions and to instil in them the sense of unity. He stood as a prophet who could not deal with the historical situation without taking recourse to arms and without fighting for his cause. No wonder then if in such circumstances the revelation had to develop an attitude of intolerance. But this seeming intolerance addressed to min as man but to his antagonists who stood against him in order to anihilate his small community and to efface the message of God for all time. Hence the Quran speaks: Fight with the unbelievers till the cause of God prevails" But again in victory repeated warnings are given not to transgress limits and to take the path of reconciliation. It says; Help ye one another unto righteousness

and pious duty. Help not one another unto sin and transgression"....

Islam through the Quran recognises the diversity of human life, the multiplicity of the tongues which man speaks and the races which inhabit the world. But it says clearly that differences do not allow any race or language to claim superiority and do not invest them with an exclusive privilege. What is characteristic of Islam that it does not negated ifferences in order to create unity but accepts them as part of divine order.

Hence the spirit of the revelation is tolerance of differences, and not their elimination. The very fact that the Ouran addresses the whole of mankind, O' Ye People (Ya Ayvohan Nas), speaks for itself. The difficulty lies with the fact that some passages are torn out of their context and exploited to provoke animosity among people. Naturally it has a mission to preach and this is a Call of God and exhortation to lead a good life to earn His pleasure. It makes no compromise on the question of the unity of God and even when it addresses itself to hardened unbelievers it exharts the believers to follow the path of peace and persuasion and not of violence....

No doubt, we cannot ignore the fact that there are limits to tolerance. Even modern governments which are so proud of tolerance cannot allow expressions of opinion which in their view undermine the government creating the problem of law and order and go against the norms of decency or affect the sensitivities of the people concerned. Hence Islam will not allow such acts and opinions which go against the Islamic norms. But so far as dogmas are concerned no one can impose his own creed on others

and the consent which is forced is no consent at all. Islam is fully aware of this fact and declares that there is no compulsion in religion (La ikrah fi al-Din). The concept of a pluralistic society is not foreign to Islam. If there have been deviations from Islamic principles of history Islam is not responsible for it. We should not also forget the fact that Islam a missionary religion and would like to propagate the basic Islamic principles. Islam s sometimes accused of fanaticism. But fanaticism is a phenomenon which arises from an attitude which cannot tolerate differences. It is not an inter-religious phenomenon as such but can develop within the fold of the same religion. It is as much true of Islam as of Christianity where sectarian conflicts have led to bloodshed and internecine war-fare. What we have to take into account is the human tendency to be easily provoked by questions which are not religiously relevant. In the contemporary situation, we can easily see that what may be called intolerance is not the privilege of any one community but is independent of all communal distinctions and diversities. Islam as we know means submission to God and consequently peace (Salam) which follows from it. When a Muslim greets another with Assalam O-Alaikum he proclaims thereby his commitment to peace.

Its teachings are summed up in the words which proclaim the unity of mankind:

"Your creation and your raising (from the dead) are only as (the creation and the raising of) a single soul. Lol Allah is Hearer, Knower (xxxl-28)

—The Indian Messenger March 84.

#### PRESTIGE, HIGH RESPONSIBILITY

THE special concern shown for the harmonious development of women, for combining their functions as mothers, workers and public figures is an inseparable part of Bulgaria's social policy. Eleven years ago on March 6, 1973 a special decision was taken to enhance the role of the Bulgarian woman in the construction of the developed This decision contains socialist society. programme tasks for the comprehensive selfrealization of women in social labour, in social and political life, in public administration and in family. Enhancing the role of women is the cause of society as a whole. This was an important inference made at the very start.

Il years have passed since that programme was adopted. How much of what was laid down in it has been accomplished and what is yet to be done?

It is stated in the decision that suitable jobs should be provided for all able-bodiesd women and mothers should have more free time. The right to work in the material guarantees are available for making it reality. At present 85 percent of the active female population either work or study. They account for 48.8 per cent of the labourforce in the country.

Expectant mothers are guaranteed the right to work. No one has the right to refuse a pregnant woman a job. Once pregnancy is established women cannot be dismissed, or their labour contracts changed. While on maternity leave, mothers are also protected by the Labour Code, until the child is three years old. Special regulations were recently adopted for creating conditions for the

qualification of mothers while on maternity leave

According to the above-mentioned decision, the maternity leave has been considerably extended. The Bulgarian legislation of today has run well ahead of the requirements of international conventions on the protection of mothers and on granting them a 12-week maternity leave. Mothers are entitled to an adidtional paid leave for looking after small children. This leave is optional and can be used immediately after the 100 per cent paid leave is over. paid leave has thus been extended to a year and a half depending on whether it is the first, the second or the third child. Mothers are entitled to unpaid leave until the child is three and it does not interfere with the length of service. The paid leave for nursing a sick child has also been extended-up to 60 days a year. The fact that women engaged in agriculture are also entitled to all these benefits, is quite an achievement for the country.

The social policy of raising the role of women in society is closely linked with the need for a demographic policy aimed at stimulating the birth rate. The lump sum cash grants given to mothers at the birth of a child were gradually raised as were also the monthly family allowances. Cash grants have been introduced for expectant mothers, for the birth and rearing of children, for student mothers and for women who have quit their jobs during pregnancy and have given birth to a child within six months after the labour contract was terminated. Bulgarian legislation provides supplementary benefits for student mothers. They get a special monthly scholarship equal to the minimum wages for the country plus a family allowance

of 30 levs. In addition, they are entitled to aspecial examinations' schedule.

The social security and social asistance scheme of Bulgaria is aimed at raising the people's living standards. The support of children and of childcare establishment is being gradually taken over by society. For the time being, low income families pay smaller fees at the childcare establishments and parents whose family income is up to 50 leves per person, are exempt from tees. Children whose parents are students or the father is doing his term of military service are relieved from fees at nurseries or kindergartens. On principle, fees at childcare establishments are set according to family incomes. However, even the highest fee does not exceed 12 levs per month for nurveries and 36 levs per month for kindergartens. This sum covers only part of the cost for the the child's upkeep. The regulations of the people's councils concerning the district payment of support money by regular divorced parents for the upkeep of children is also to the benefit of children.

Ever growing are also the measures taken for meeting the housing needs of young families. According to special regulations a separate housing stock has been set up for providing young families with a flat. At least ten per cent of the newly built flats are set aside to meet the needs of this housing stock.

The decision lays emphasis on the important question of how to alleviate household work and provide more free time for women. The development of the industries turning out domestic appliances, soap and detergents, as well as all other industrial sectors producing household utensils, cooked and semi-cooked

fool, the system of public catering and the expansion of communal services are referred to as the principal ways and means of solving this problem.

Of particular importace in this respect is the further transformation of the traditional attitudes to the role of women, the more just distribution of work in the family. This is one of themes of the educational work performed by the Committee of Bulgarian Women.

A broad discussion is now taking place of the Basic Principles for a New-Labour Code. Proposals are being made by people from all walks of life. As public figures, as mothers and workers Bulgarian women also take part in the discussion. They support its basic rinciples and trends in which special attention is devoted to the protection of labour and the health of the working mother. They also make proposals aimed at raising labour productivity, improving the quality of products and strengthening discipline. They know full well that the well-being of the country and of their own families depends on the quality of their work.

- News From Bulgaria April 1984

WORKING CONDITIONS

### DENMARK

Paid paternity and parental leave extended

Under legislation, approved by Parliament in December 1983, which takes effect on 1 July 1984, Danish fathers will be entitled to paternity leave the first two weeks after

the birth of a child (or from the day the child comes home).

As before, the mother is entitled to four weeks maternity leave before and fourteen weeks after the birth.

Furthermore, both parents are entitled to six extra weeks post-natal leave to be shared between them as they choose, but not to be taken simultaneously. As from 1 July 1985, this period will be extended to ten weeks

The payment is still 90% of the salary with a maximum pay that for the moment amounts to D. kr. 2,008.00 (1US\$-9.80 D.kr.).

Finally, if, following birth, a child has to be hospitalised, the mother is entitled to sick leave with pay of up to three months; this does not affect her maternity leave.

Source: Denmark: Act No. 572 of 7 Dec. 1983 to amend the daily cash benefit (sickness or maternity), Act No. 262 of 7 Jun. 1972 and Act No. 573 of 7 Dec. 1983 to amend the Maternity Leave Act No. 234 of 4 Jun. 1980, Lovtidende A, (Official Gazette-) Vol. 92, 7 Dec. 1983, pp. 1807—1810.

#### FRANCE

Parental leave plan: choice between part-time work or leave

Parental leave instituted by the Act of 12 July 1977 (see S.L.B. 3/77, p. 278) has been extended and made more flexible by the

Act of 4 January 1984. Four essential innovations have been made:

—Instead of having to take parental leave, during which the employment contract is suspended, parents can now choose to work part time. If they opt for the latter, part-time will be equal to half the normal working hours in the establishment.

—The new rights are extended simultaneously or successively to the mother and father or adoptive parents. It is therefore no longer necessary for the mother to waive her parental leave in order for the father to qualify for it.

Employees are now entitled to such leave in all companies, not just in firms with 100 or more staff, as before. In undertakings with less than 100 employees, the employer may no longer refuse to grant parental leave or part-time work unless, after consulting the works committee or, failing this, the employees' delegates, he considers that such leave or part-time work will have a negative effect on production and the proper functioning of the undertaking.

—The requirement that an employee should resume work for one year before being entitled to a further period of parental leave no longer applies. Consequently, at the end of a period of parental leave or part-time work, an employee may notify the employer, due to the birth or adoption of another child, of the intention to take a further such period.

During parental leave, the employment contract is merely suspended. On the expiry of the period of leave or part-time work, return to the same or a similar job is guaranteed and parents are entitled to any necessary

vocational training. The period of leave or part-time work is fixed at a maximum of one year, renewable once.

Source: France: Act No. 84-9 of 4 Jan. 1984 to amend the Labour Code and concer ning parental leave or part-time work to enable parents to bring up their children, Journal Official (Official Gazette), 5 Jan. 1984, pp. 174-175.

UIMM: Information sociales (Paris), 84-1635, Feb. 1984. La Semaine sociale Lamy (Paris), No. 202. 5 Mar. 1984.

#### **EMPLOYMENT**

INDIA

Extension of national employment services to self-employment

The current Sixth Five-Year Plan (1980-85) has laid considerable emphasis on the promotion of self-employment. It is estimated that in the plan period only one in eight of the new entrants into the labour force would be able to get wage employment and the rest have to be found job opportunities in self-employment. Several schemes promote self-employment opportunities, some of them newly introduced, like the District Industries Centres, the Integrated Rural Development Programme and the Training Youth for Self-Employment. of Rural Moreover, the Prime Minister announced in her Independence Day' Message, in 1983, a new scheme for self-employment among educated youth.

The Employment Exchanges are expected to play a significant role in developing self-employment schemes. First, they should provide a link between job-seekers and those with self-employment potential as well as guide job-seekers in securing various kinds of as istance in setting up their own ventures. To carry out this additional function, it is proposed to strengthen the Employment Exchange under the Sixth Plan.

Initially, it is intended that the scheme should operate on a pilot basis in 30 selected discricts, throughout the country, having limited opportunities for wage employment and relatively big potential for self-employment. The Employment Exchanges and the University Information and Guidance Bureau are expected to serve as centres for the dissemination of information and registration for self-employment. The pilot phase of the scheme will continue till the end of 1985.

The Handbook, edited by the Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation gives a list of 50 services for self-employment in urban areas and describes 145 self-employment ventures suitable for rural areas.

Scurce: India: Directorate General of Employment and Fraining, Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation, Handbook on Promotion of Seif Employment for the Use of Employment Officers: (New Delhi), 1983, pp. 88.

## INTERNATIONAL

Employment crisis and length of working life

At the symposium organised by the Carte of European Legal Studies of Geneva

University, held on 15 and 16 September 1983, Eliane Vogel-Polsky, Professor at the-Free University of Brussels, spoke on measures taken by some governments to try and maintain employment (for highlights of this symposium, see S.L.B. 4/83, p. 547). She wondered if these measures, which aim at altering the length of an individual's working life by prolonging compulsory schooling and bringing forward the retirement age, are really the answer to the problem. In her article below, she points out that such measures run counter to two trends characterising the end of the century: an increase in life expectancy and a drop in the birth rate.

## Lowering the retirement age

It is inadvisable to introduce a general and irreversible lowering of the retirement age and that society should evolve in completely the opposite direction.

Indeed, it would be a failure on the part of our civilisation if we condemned men and women still in full possession of their physical and mental capacities to what is often a "social death".

There is an irony in the fact that this lowering of the retirement age more oftenthan not hits workers who have had the hardest, least interesting and the lowest paid jobs, and who will receive the lowest pensions.

A better idea would be to reduce daily, weekly or annual working time, especially as this might make a gradual transition from full employment to retirement much easier.

In some sectors, early retirement might jeopardise the future of small undertakings, which only survive due to the skills of their replace. As a general rule, such posts will not be filled again but merely abolished within the framework of an overall restructurisation of the branch under consideration.

Apart from the heavy financial burden which an overall lowering of the retirement age would place on any government, it is not even certain that such a measure would have the desired effect on employment, with the added risk that it might penalise a whole category of workers.

Raising the minimum age for admission to employment

There are also curious developments in this field. Although in the past this was considered a way of preventing the exploitation of young people, the constant raising of the age limit for work is now seen as a factor excluding these same young people from the labour market, in the hope of lowering unemployment statistics.

Young people are also the first to fall victim to the uncertainties and segmentation of the labour market. Unlike older unemployed workers, they have no substitute source of income (compensation, pension and other sources of income) and have to compete with their Peers for unstable and low-skilled jobs.

Furthermore, a higher general level of education and the rapid development of new technologies have brought about profound changes in the relationships between training and employment.

Measures to promote equality between

young people and adults in the fields of wages, training, working conditions and promotion have, in fact, had an adverse effect on the employment of young people for equal wages, employers prefer to hire a more stable and experienced workforce.

Support given, as in the EEC, to all training programmes which aim at decompartmentalising the transitional period between school and employment. Attempts should be made to develop "alternate" training programmes which set out both to teach a skill and insert young people into society.

Young people find themselves caught up in an impossible situation: employers are increasingly encouraged to recruit and hire them while economic structures are incapable of absorbing them, thus making their training seem like an illusion.

Informal projects from groups of unemployed young persons should be given a hearing and these same young people should have access to financial and administrative assistance which they might need,

Source: Mrs. E. Vogel-Polsky, Rapporteur on the theme "Reduction in the length of working life", at the international symposium "Crise, maintien de 1' e nploie et partage du travail" Centre d'etudes juridiques europeens (Geneva), 15-16 Sep. 1983, 15 pp. (mimeo.).

# OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH

**JAPAN** 

Survey and Guidelines on VDU work

The Labour Safety and Health Research Institute of Osaka has carried out, in co-operation with trade unions, a survey on the health of workers using visual display units (VDUs). The findings indicate that VDU operators suffer more from eye fatigue, near sightedness and abnormal pregnancies than their colleagues not working with such terminals.

The survey polled 3, 148 VDU workers in 66 different undertakings. Of these, 54% worked more than four hours a day on VDUs; £2% of women operators and 84% of male operators respectively, complained of eye fatigue. Thirteen out of 50 pregnant women working with video terminals experienced abnormal or difficult pregnancies or child birth.

Guidelines have been drawn up by the Central Labour Standards Council concerning in particular the luminosity of the screens, the distance between the screen and the operator and the regular examination of workers' eyes, hands and arms.

Source: Mainichi Daily News (Tokyo),19 Feb 1984.

the Japan Times (Tokyo),28 Feb:

## UNITED STATES

Health Programmes can cut costs

Not only do health maintenance prog-

rammes work, but they are cost effectivesays Andrew Brennan, director of the healthprogramme at one of the biggest companies in the United States, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

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The recommended programmes are: smoking cessation; high blood pressure-control; weight control; fitness; stress management; and control of lipid levels, such as cholestrol and tryglyceride.

Based on internal evaluations and comparisons with national health databases. Metropolitan Company is satisfied with the results of its own programmes. For example, smiking cessation brogrammes, provided free, have a one-year success rate of approximately 35%. They cost the company less than US\$200 for each successful quitter. At the same time, it has been estimated that a pack-a-day smoker may cost the company US\$ 626 a year in cigarette- related health pro blems. The absenteerate for smokers is also 33-45% higher than for non-smokers. On this basis, antismoking programmes at the Metropolitan are indeed cost effective.

The national health care costs directly associated with high blood pressure total approximately US\$4,000 million to 5,000 million annually. A similar figure pays for its consequences—heart disease, stroke and arterial disease. A well-known Cleveland company, TRW Inc., estimates that its highly successful blood pressure control programme costs the company about US\$150 per hypertensive employee. This is compared to about US\$10,000 in medical costs when an employee has a heart attack.

Metropolitan's choies'rol reduction programme emphasises practical, behavioural changes and is offered to employees identified as being "at risk" through blood tests taken at regular medical examinations. Significant results can be achieved in three months with an average 10% reduction in cholestrol levels. The cost is US\$50 per participant. The company feels it definitely worthwhile as major studies indicate that fat and cholestrol levels have a connection to heart ailments and colon and breast cancer.

Metropolitan's fitness and weight control programme had immediate benefits for the company. It results in an average reduction in absenteeism of one day per participant.

While stress programmes are more difficult to evaluate, Metropolitan nevertheless considers the benefits are undeniable. If left unchecked, the result can be increased absenteeism, decreased job performance, disability or premature death. Participants in these programmes learn to identify, major sources of stress, Then they learn to differentiate between those that can be changed and those that are beyond their control but which require a modification in perception.

As the Metropolitan example demonstrates, employer-provided health programmes such as these not only can increase productivity of the employee but can also cut costs for the employer.

Source: Personnel Administrator (Berea), Apr. 1983.

reduction VDU operators and "adverse" pregnancies

According to information from the "National Association of Working Women 9 to 5," the United Airlines telephone reservations office in San Francisco has had an abnormally high rate of adverse pregnancies over a 4-year period (see also S. L. B. 4/83, p.473).

According to the Association, out of 48 pregnancies, 15 ended in miscarriage and there was one stillbirth, one death, two children born with birth defects, two premature deliveries and three "undisclosed" problems between 1979 and 1983.

The Association has requested the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) to investigate the situation.

At the same time, United Airlines has cited important studies showing that no radiation emitted by VDUs reaches or exceeds any international standard of safety or health. Noting that the vast majority of VDU operators are women of reproductive age, United Airlines says that "clusters of problem pregnancies will occur by statistical chance" and are unrelated to VDU use (for articles on similar clusters in Canada, see S. L. B. 2/81, p. 132 and 4/82, p. 523).

The Association also released the results of a voluntary survey of 871 VDU operators, showing that over half experienced eye or muscle strain, and 45% reported pregnancies ending in miscarriage, abortion, stillbirth, early death of the infant, premature delivery or major birth defects.

Source: Computerworld (Farmingham), 20 Feb. 1984.

> -ILO Social And Labour Bulletin 2, 1984

## A PRAYER

When dreaded old age comes some day, the feet
Perhaps will slacken in their strength and speed
And meekly follow younger people's lead;
The thin and feeble hands will trembling greet
The friendly grasp and eyes bedimmed will meet
Visions of joy unmoved; remembrance feed
Brooding upon the past and life will need
Youth's fire and Zest and all its raptures sweet.

But pray, let reason keep its wonted health,
Unconquered by the softening touch of age,
The mind reveal no feebleness, no slow
Decilne to wandering look, or vacant brow,
Or thoughtless, lingering smile, no sad image
For pity, void of man's most valued wealth.

P. SESHADRI.

Reprint - Modern Review, March 1924

## BERLIN\_AS I SAW IT

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## Dr. GOUR MOHON DAS DE

After searching our bus the sentries came straight to me and asked for our passports. We were quite afraid that they had asked us first, leaving the others standing in the front row. They examined our passports and asked, "Indian?" I nodded my head. They immediately asked us to board the bus with a smile. I then realised that my wife's sari had brought them to us first. I felt that the behaviour of the East Berliners to the Indian was very courteous from the very begining.

We quickly boarded the bus but they did not give us any trouble, The other tourists saw the difference in their treatment and kept quiet, The sentries, after asking the tourists a lot of questions and examining their passports, had ordered them to board the bus one by one. They boarded the bus with great relief and started drinking cokes.

The sentries ordered our bus to move on. The driver started driving through the narrow zigzag lane and left the next gate

according to the rule of the Check Post. After crossing the driver seeing a middleaged lady, stopped his bus. That ladv dressed in a white gown stepped, into the bus and welcomed us to East Berlin. was our guide. She introduced herself to us, and the bus started moving very slowly. Several questions about East Berlin were asked by the tourists. The lady answered most of the questions not related to politics. I asked her to show us the remnants of Hitler's Bunker. She did not answer my question. I felt very bad. The bus had moved almost 250 vards. Suddenly the pointed out a mound ladv in an open field on our left and said" That is the remnant of our Fuhreur's Bunker." All of us straight eway took its Photo from the running bus. (The photo had not come out well) The lady informed us that no East Berliners should utter their Fuhreur's name and his photo should not be hung on the walls of their rooms, as if caught they would be severely punished. I understood then why the lady had not answered my question immediately.

Dr. Gour Mohon Das De lived in Malaya both as an army Captain during World War II and later as a member of the Malayan Medical Service. A World Traveller, he is the author of several novels, short stories, travelogues, children's stories and magazine articles.

Our guide said that the Russians were the first to enter the Bunker. They destroyed everything belonging to Hitler. Its floor had been built with hundreds of red stone slaps which were later taken out one by one and placed on the floor of the large Russian graveyard in the garden of Troptow in East Berlin. She told us that she would show us that place during our tour.

It came to my mind suddenly that a guilty person should be punished for his crime and not for his creation-the Russian army made a great blunder by completely destroying the Bunker. It was one of the greatest historical sites and there no harm in preserving it for educational and historical purposes. In fact it would have been an asset to education and bistory. The future generations will not forgive them, for this destruction the order for which came from Moscow. The same type of incident had happened in Warsaw, Hitler ordered his general who was in charge of Warsaw to destroy everything in Warsaw. including the palace of King Jan 111 Sobieski in Wilanow and that of Poland's last king. Stanislaw August which is in the centre of the city. But that General had not carried out his orders. He had saved all the important places including the palaces. When I visited Warsaw I saw the palaces. They are simply wonderful and unique. The palace Museum in Wilanow cannot be compared with any other ruseums in western Europe, They are marvellous and invaluable. Our guide in Warsaw related the story of that General to us. Not only had he saved the important places and palaces but he had also saved the history of Poland. The people

of Poland are still very grateful to that General for this good deed.

Our bus at last entered the main city. First we saw its television tower which was larger and taller than that of West Berlin. We saw there not one but a number of beautiful skyscrapers, charming parks, cinema houses, supermarkets, theatres, 303ft. broad mettaled and clean highways with beautiful avenues. Every one of us was charmed. Our guide informed us that they were all built after the war over the ruins and rubble of the war-torn city.

At the end of World War II in 1945 Germany was divided into Eastern and Western Zones. Berlin in East Germany was divided into four sectors which were governed by France, Britain, United States and Russia. On 24th June, 1948 Russia suddenly cut off all land transportation and communications between West Germany and Berlin until May 12, 1949. During that disastrous period the United States and Britain helped the people of West Berlin from starvation and illness by dropping food and medicine by planes. The Russians established their zones which politically and economically controlled by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They séaled it off from the Western Zones. On the other side the Americans and the British came to realise that they might need the help of the Germans against Soviet aggression. They gradually adopted strict less policies. In 19**49** handed over to the Germans three Western Zones that they had occupied. The Germans being united had formed the German Federal Republic and established a Government at Bonn. The other part of Berlin is called East Berlin which is at present the capital of the Communist Republic — Reiseland Deutsche Demokratische Republik.

Though the Germans run the Russian occupied country with their own people, everything is controlled and dominated by the Communist Party of East Berlin. We visited the Humboldt University which was once the famous old University of Berlin and which now had a pro-Communist faculty. The guide informed us that all the departmental stores were controlled by the East Berlin Authority. Industry in East Berlin had revived and there is at present no unemployment crisis.

Before the summer in I961 the East Berliners could flee to West Berlin and they fled in numbers but in the summer of I961 suddenly the East German police had built a high wall along the 26.5 mile-long border between the two Berlins with concrete and barbed wire to stop the steady flow of refugees to West Berlin. The West Berliners had named that wall——the Wall of Shame.

In consequence many families were divided, streets barred, public squares, gardens, famous parks and even graveyards were divided into two. That wall is called the "Berlin Wall" which is well known all over the world.

One day in the 7th century a few merchants and tradesmen came and settled near the Spree River, the main river in Berlin. The settlement grew slowly until the 13th century when it became famous for the business of selling herring, grain and wood. By the 17th century that growing town was walled strongly on all sides by the order of Frederick

William of Brandenburg. His wife, Dorothea planted the first Linden tree on the famous Unter den Linden Avenue. Her husband circulated his order to all the inhabitants not to send their pigs there to destroy that plant. But we could find no trace of any old tree there. Most probably many old linden trees had been destroyed during the war. We only saw new trees along that Avenue.

From 1701 to 1945 Berlin became the capital. It had served first as the capital city of the Kingdom of Prussia, then of the German Empire and during the last century, of the Republic and then of National Socialist Germany.

We had our coffee in a canteen run by the State. My wife and the other tourists bought a few souvenirs which were very costly. After that we left for the other parts of Berlin. We first passed by the side of the slightly damaged old Opera House, then the Council of State Building, Bear Statue, finally we reached Karl Marx Alee which is the business centre of East Berlin- Our guide informed us, "This place was totally destroyed in the war. It was a part of former Frankfurter Alee. Over the ruins and debris it was built in a new fashion".

I was amazed to see the improvement done there. I could not restrain myself from asking her a few questions. I asked her," Madam, yesterday I heard in West Berlin that no improvement has been done here. Mounds of debris and rubble are still lying scattered everywhere."

She told me smilingly' "Please do not

listen to the rumours. Perhaps some foreigners have misled you. The Berliners will never tell you that. Do you still feel that we are passing through the ruins and debris of the last war?" I kept quiet.

True, while passing through the city we had not seen any such ruins. We saw a 300. ft. broad metalled road. On either side of that road stood many skysrapers, children's playground and beautiful gardens. They were very clean. Not a single dry leaf or a ziece of waste paper were lying there. They were all built on the ruins. Next we passed through Marx Engels Platz. It was really very beautiful and charming. Our guide stopped the bus, showed every part of the place and said, this square has been built beautifully over the old palace which had been partly destroyed. Restoration had begun on the former palace of the crown prince which has been turned into an art gallery."

Alexanderplatz was the next place we visited. That place was also beautifully built. Its skyscrapers had attracted me very much. Some of their front walls had beautifull paintings of different colours done by expert artists.

One of the tourists asked our guide, "Madam, Once Hermann Goering had promised the public at a meeting, on the outbreak of the Second World War, that not a single enemy bomb would fall on Berlin as the city was heavily guarded by his powerful army. Do you remember that, madam?"

She replied, "Yes, I remember. The public had praised and cheered him. He thought

that Berlin was invulnerable to enemy attacks. But he could not keep his promise.

In 1946 there were 30 air raid attacks by the Allies, During the last two years of the war the allies threw about 1000 bombs all over the city."

Our guide said to us, "During the lest two years it was in a disasterous condition. Thinking of those scenes I still tremble with fear. The Berliners used to run for the safest shelter here and there and take shelter whenever they found one. When the air raids were over we used to come out from our shelters to find seattered bodies lying all over in pools of blood. The safest shelter did not even help them. It was merciless to drop so many bombs on the innocent public at the end of the war."

I told her, "Possibly the Allies were afraid of Hitler's secret weapons which might have been hidden somewhere in the city. I had heard about the atom bomb which Hitler was trying to make. I was in the army then. We were all afraid of the bomb. Perhaps that was the reason why the Allied Armies had blasted every part of the city."

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The guided nodded her head and said, "It might have been so but our Fuhreur had no such secret weapons. During the heavy air raids our brave soldiers endangered their valuable lives and saved many invaluable antiques, paintings, pictures and documents by hiding them in secret places. These valuable things are at present shown in the East and West Berlin museums. At that time most of the schools and colleges were destroyed. As a result of that there were three shifts a

day for their study in the schools and colleges due to want of accomodation. The city's theatres and cinemas were badly hit. As a result the hardworking Berliners could not enjoy theatres or cinema shows sfter their hard day's work. In 1952 there were only seven theatres in the city. Among them was the newly built Schiller Theatre. At present quite a number of Schools, colleges, theatre and cinema halls have been built."

The Mexican lady asked her, "When did the allied armies enter Berlin, Madam?" Our guide replied, "The Russians entered Berlin on May 1, 1945 and had occupied several places of Berlin. The other Allied armies arrived only ten weeks later to see the beautiful and famous buildings including the palace destroyed shamelessly to the ground.

There were several museums—Pergamon, National History, The Bode and National Gallery. We had visited only the Pergamon museum which had housed many things of Asian countries. It was worth visiting. About the education of children she said, "The Russian language is compulsory here. It is a law enacted by the Communist Party of East Berlin'.

On our way to Treptow Garden to see the Russian graveyard one of the tourists asked our guide, "Madam, were you born in East Berlin?"

She said, "I was born in West Berlin and I got married to a young teacher of this place. We settled here. At that time nobody had even the faintest idea that our Berlin would be divided into two".

"Your husband is still with you, I suppose." "No, my husband and my two sons died in the last war."

"Surely a relative is staying with you?"

"I have no relatives here. They are all in West Berlin"

"Do you get any information from the other side?"

"We write letters occasionally. They are all right."

"Madam, do you not like to join them? I have read in the papers that there is no bar for middle-aged persons to leave this country." The Mexican lady asked her. "No those who had passed sixty years are allowed to leave East Berlin if they wish. I am not yet sixty years old. I will have to wait for a few years more."

"If anybody escapes from here illegally, what happens to his wife and children."? One of us asked her.

"He will never see them again."

Our bus was then passing by the side of a railway station. The surrounding area of that side was not at all attractive. The Spree River was flowing some distance away from the main road. It runs to the North of Berlin, then turns to the West where it meets the Havel River. We saw many canals in East Berlin surrounding the city. She informed us, "Many Berliners who tried to escape by crossing the canal and climbing the Berlin Wall were shot

dead by the armed sentries. It had happend several times but they are still trying to ge: away."

The Brazilian lady said in a loud voice, "They are killing their own brothers. They are inhuman, cruel and unkind."

E asked our guide, "Madam, don't you feel that the armed sentries who are killing their own people are compelled to do that henious deed under duress?"

Our guide did not answer me. She kept quiet.

The water of those canals met the rivers Elbe and Oder and also several rivers in the North of Germany.

At last we arrived at Brandenberg Gate. It is the Victory Gate before the Second World War. This Gate separates the two Berlins. The Gate lies in a vast beautiful park with a series of green trees. It has six tall round pillars with a flat top where there is a statue of a man in a chariot drawn by four horses holding a victory flag. When we arrived there we saw the Berliners and the tourists taking pictures of that Gate.

Trepto Garden is far away from the main city. The road leading to it was shady, calm and quiet. Very few vehicles plied that way. The garden has several gates but only one gate on the east is open to the public. It is well cared for with the money and labour of the East Berliners, by standing orders of the State. I had heard the local public grumble but no one dared to protest for they feared the Communist Party of East Berlin. Some of them had apparently complained as to why they should spend money and give free

labour for the graves of foreigners when the graves of their own countrymen, who had died for the sake of their own country, were not well cared for and not even attended to.

The same incident had happened in Vienna, Austria. On our city tour there our guide, a lady showing a tall Russian monument, told us that they would have to take care of that with their money and labour. They could not give up that because of a contract between the Austrian Govt, and the Soviet Union after the war.

We stayed in that beautiful garden for sometime. Its tall and small trees with their pretty flowers of various colours, their cool shade, the gentle breeze, the sweet chirruping of its different types of brilliantly coloured birds and the calm environment had really charmed me and made me happy. We felt much soothed after our long journey under the scorching sun. After seeing a few beautiful statues, we moved towards the graveyard.

The Russian graveyard is situated about several feet below the ground level. We went down the steps to the graveyard where lay hundreds of graves of the Russian soldiers who had died fighting with the Germans inside Berlin, Every grave was marked for a thousand dead bodies. The floor was made with the red stone slabs brought from Hitler's Bunker.

Standing on the side of the pathetic and heart—rending graveyard, I felt for those who were having their last slumber in those graves. I closed my eyes and prayed to God, "Oh, God may You shower You blessings on those innocent souls who had died

young, to the prime of their lives without enjoying any earthly pleasure".

Buddha had said, "Hatred is never ended but by love". A misunderstanding is never ended by argument but by conciliation. Perhaps if Hitler had not tried to retaliate against the insult of the First World War, millions of young lives would not have been sacrificed at the alter of Death.

I left that 'place in sorrow. My wife had put some flowers on one of the graves and came up with the other tourists.

After visiting East Berlin we returned to the same Check Post after saying goodbye to our guide.

After that we re-crossed the Check Post as before and reached West Berlin.

Our guide of West Berlin took us first on the other side of the Berlin wall. I saw the wall riddled with machine gun bullets. The Wall passed through a series of houses.... through parlours, bedrooms, kitchen, bathrooms, shops etc. of the former German civilians. The doors and windows of those houses were still fitted there. I went and opened the doors and entered inside -but I could not go any further as there stood the the high Berlin Wall. We took a few pictures of the Wall scarred with bullet marks. The guide took us to a tall ladder nearby. We climbed up the ladder and saw East Berlin from there. The Wall was very high from this side of West Berlin. It was mutually maintained by both the governments. The Berliner of one side could see the other if they wished. The womenfolk on other side of that road were lookig at us from the first floor their houses.

Next we went to the Berlin Stadium. It is a

large sportsfield and a great concrete stadium which can accomodate 1,00,000 spectator. It was built for the Olympic Games of 1935 with a powerful radio transmitting central during the time of Hitler. It had fortunately escaped bombing.

West Berlin is more or less an Island inside a vast land as East Germany has encircled i on all sides. About its transportation system there are three 300 ft. broad highways leading to the three large and small airports Templehop. Tegel and Gatow. From the air-port one can go to any part of the world except the communist countries. There are three railroads, and a few canals and rivers. The West Berliners can walk along the Havel River, sit on benches along Spree River and they can swim and sunbathe on their beaches. The people use thosewaterways through the river hibe to go to the city of Hamburg, one of the largest cities of West Germany. They have Hansa Viertel.... Hansa Quater, the unique residential district designed and built by internationally famous architects. New ultramodern schools are built, the Free University was built in 1948. Students from all part of the world go there for study. There are many factories built there for production and export. The Congress Hall is a gitt from the United States. It has a nickname.....Baby Scales. because of its unusual shape.

## At last we returned to our hotel:

We had decided before that we would leave West Berlin on 5th June and stay in East Berlin that night. The next day we would fly to Prague by Interflug as no plane would fly to any communist country from West Berlin. So when we landed first in the Berlin-Schonefeld Air Port we had booked

our passage and hotel there. But we had changed our mind on the night of 4th June. I had changed our flight several times during our tours. It was not a difficult one as there were a number of airlines in every airport.

Next morning, the 5th June, after breakfast I had approached the manager of the hotel to change our air passage in East Berlin. He told me with a smile that he could phone to every part of the world except the communist countries So I went to the Air India office.

The lady in charge there heard my problem and was in a fix. She had told me. that it was impossible to phone to East Berlin but she would try for us through her Dutch boy friend in K.L.M. (Dutch Air-She immediately phoned him to ways). arrange two seats for 5th June. After half an hour her boyfriend rang back and infomed her that he had arranged it with great difficulty as the Politburo of the Communist world was holding a meeting in the international Hotel in Prague. He also sent us a warning about the lack of accommodation there. That lady took our tickets and changed the date and the number of the plane.

I came back to our hotel, paid the hotel \$14 (U.S.) a day and noî bill at per arrangement with S19 a day as office from where we our Air India had booked our accomodation, and left West Berlin by our former bus. We reached there before noon, cancelled our hotel reservation there and waited outside. A German officer kindly took us inside an air-coditioned room-and requested us to wait there. Before we entered there he had taken our passports under custody. Russia did the same thing when we were in Moscow without visa. That room had a small restaurant and a small duty free shop, There were a number of magazines lying but all were written in the German language. We only looked through the pictures. We waited there for many hours as our plane would leave the airport at 6-30 P.M. We had hot coffee and and some cakes there.

Our plane arrived before 6 P. M. and we boarded the plane. It left at the scheduled time. We expected dinner on the plane. Alas No dinner was served except a cup of hot coffee and a couple of dog-biscuits! We could take our dinner anywhere in the city of Prague. But what would happen about our hotel accomodation? It was not booked beforehand. We began to think of Almighty God who would provide us with that-and He did really provide us with a double bedroom with an attached bath in the International Hotel of Prague. We were indeed very lucky!

Berlin before the Second World War, was the third city of the world. Its area was equal to that of New York. Though there are at present two governments, two bus systems, two administrative bodies—democracy and communism, two ways of life and its two divisions, yet the Berliners's pirit has not been conquered. Though to cross the dividing line either direction is to feel a different atmostphere, yet the Berliners still have a great attraction for their city which they love dearly.

Visiting both Berlins I have come to realise that they always hope that one day the former glory will return. The Berliners will not be wiped out from the face of the earth. They will live. Perhaps they will be united again.

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## Indian and Foreign Periodicals

## JOURNALIST RAMMOHUN

## J. L. Das. writes:

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Raja Rammohun Roy was a versatile genius. He was an erudite scholar, an eminent polyglot, a thinker and writer of the highest order, a front rank social reformer and religious leader, a nationalist, and at the same time an internationalist, without a peer. Indeed it would be no exaggeration to regard him as the Founder of Modern India. As Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar aptly remarks, "His gigantic figure, like a colossus, strides across the pages of the nineteenth century history" (Glimpses of Bengal In The Nineteenth Century).

While the contributions of the Raja in various fields of thought and action have been more or less commented upon, discussed and recognised, his efforts as a journalist are not so well-known to the layman. According to Professor Dilip! Kumar Biswas. "In the field of journalism his inspiration certainly, worked behind the earliest Bengali newspaper. 'Vangal Gazette' which printed his first tract on 'Sati', 'Sambad Kaumudi' (Bengali), 'Miratul-Akhbar" (Persian). 'Jam-i-Jahan-Numa (Urdu, 'later Persian), 'Bengali Herald' (English-Bengali Hindusthani-Persian)-all belonged Rammohun and his group" ("In Defence of Rammohun' Letter to the Editor. The Statesman, dated 17, 3, 1972).

The "Vangal Gazette" or the "Bengal Gazette," which saw the light of day in 1818 was the pioneer liberal journal published from Calcutta. It was a Bengali weekly sponsored by the energetic and interested members of Raja Rammohun Roy's 'Atmiya Sabha.' The paper was in circulation till 1820.

The 'Bengal Gazette' was followed by another Bengali weekly named 'Sambad Kaumudi'. In the very first copy (dated December 4, 1821) it was stated that its main objective was general welfare and that it would promote and uphold the public interest. In fact, it contained dissertations religion. philosophy. politics. social affairs and problems etc. Every issue of the 'Sambad Kaumudi', which was published on Tuesdays, consisted of eight pages. Though the name of Bhabani Charan Bandopadhyay was mentioned as its editor. vet the common man believed Rammohun Roy to be its de facto éditor and manager. The journal bore the following sloka as its motto:

দর্পাণে বদনং ভাতি দীপেন নিকটাস্হতং। রবিনা ভাবনং তপ্তং কোম্যান্য শীতলং জগং।।

In those days it was Persian which was in vogue among the educated people as the vehicle of thought and expression. Hence Rammohun felt the necessity of bringing out a journal in that language, and started a weekly in Persian. the "Mirat-ul-Akhbar. on April 12. 1822. Thus the Raja sought to cater to the cravings and curiosities of both the common man and the intellectual elite through the "Sambad Kaumudi" and respectively. Apart "Mirat-ul-Akhbar" from dealing with thought--provoking topics. Rammohun sought to keep the readers of the "Mirat-ul-Akhbar" acquainted international events. In the first issue of the paper two articles on China and Russia were published. In his dissertation, "Irelandlts Distress and Discontents, also publithed in the same weekly, Rammohun scathingly attacked the narrow and high-handed policy pursued by the British Government towards the Irish Catholics.

It is worthy of note that many of Raja Rammohun Roy's editorials appearing in the "Mirat-ul Akhbar" were translated into English and published in the "Calcutta James Silk Buckingham. Journal" of Recause of his out spoken and independent views expressed in the Persian paper, the Raja became a suspect in the eyes of the powers that be," The statement that Mr. W. B. Bailey of the Supreme Council filed on October 10. I822 regarding in vernacular newspapers published languages contained bitter criticism of some editorials of the "Mirat-ul-Akhbar.,

in May 1829, Rammohun became associated with another weekly, the "Bengal Herald" (published in English-Bengali Hindusthani Persian). It was edited by Dr Montgomery Martin a medical man, who was greatly impressed by Prince Dwarkanath Tagore He, however, ceased connection with the paper after some time.

The raison d'etre for Raja Rammohun

Roy's entry into the arena of journalism can best be stated in his own words. "My only object is that I may lay before the public such articles of intelligence as may increase their experience and tend to their social improvement, and that to that extent of my abilities I may indicate to the Ru lers a knowledge of the real situation of their subjects acquainted with the establi shed laws and customs of their rulers, tha the rulers may the more readily find any opportunity of granting relief to the people and the people may be put in possession of the means of obtaining protection and redress from their rulers"

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The Raja took up the gauntlet when on 14th March, 1823 Mr. John Adam, the Acting Governor-General of India promulgated the notorious Press (derisively called Adam's Gag) securing to curb the freedom of the Press through the introduction of the licensing system. He firmly believed that robbing the Press of its freedom was tantamount to depriving the people of their fundamental rights. So he addressed a petition to the then Supreme Court and subsequently to the King of England protesting vigorously against the measure. The petition was also signed by Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Chandra Kumar Tagore, Hara Chandra Ghosh and Gouri Charan Bandopadhyay. Restrictions on freedom of the Press were waived by Sir Charles Metcalfe in August, 1835, after the Raja's death. But his services in this regard will be gratefully remembered by all lovers of freedom of thought, speech, expression and action.

-The Indian Messenger

April '84.

THE FAMILY OF THE LOYING

John Ryan writes:

Even although one is unaware of it, the mind is all the time making up philosophies by which to live. It is constantly occupied in drawing plans of vast and complicated mental structures.

Our philosophical systems are like buildings and we follow along their corridors and live within their rooms. In them we find shelter from our insecurity and inalequacy in the face of life's challenges.

Perhaps the most ambitious philosophical systems or maps devised by the mind are those which pertain to religion. For it is in this sphere that the mind seeks to grasp that part of life which is beyond measurement. The essence of religion cannot captured by knowledge, but the form of the religious thought takes experience and on that builds its structures. Adherence to forms of religion has often led to separateness and animosity-even to war-because the following of a form alone is not enough to bring about religiousness in a person or in a people. Indeed, it may lead to emptiness and misery. The following of a form may offer the devoted a seeming security and sense of identity, but inwardly he may be ignorant of what is true and real in life; his inner state is one of barrenness. Out of such a barrennesss arises the conflict of unfulfilled potential and unresolved challenges. It is only when he is forced to look within and perceive the actual state of his relations that freedom of enquiry is possible.

In following the form of a religion, the essence, the original creative spirit to which

the form alludes is forgotten. Concern with security and knowledge has replaced the search for truth and, for the most part, the importance of enquiry together with the rich inner experience, has been left by the wayside.

Organized religion, although it speaks of brotherliness and godliness, goodness and honesty, hold lightly to these qualities. Too often, it has been unable to act politically or socially without; comproming what it claims to value most. Excuses such as, 'Perfection is attainable only in the hereafter', or 'The world is not free from sin and, while living in it, we are part of it, prevent it from coming to terms with the problem. Yet a serious enquirer, by delving into the implications of such a state as Goodness can come to know the very heart of religion which is beyond words.

Religion, in its truest sense, can be glimpsed in nature, where it expresses itself in the beauty, truth, and love of life. But nature is unconscious of its spontaneous expression of the spirit. It is like the lotus blossom still unopened to itself. When a person understands what it is to love, he has become wise and like the opened bloom. To mankind alone is given the ability to become aware of the wholeness and the depth of life. Indeed, it has been said that Man is the mirror by which Life may see itself.

To the person who has come near to the heart of religion, forms, isolated from their lifespring, are of small significance, In the same way, philosophical concepts are of little importance if they are not related to life. The essence of life has been termed the wisdom religion, the religion of

truth, and it it is sometimes described as that way of life whose every movement is the action of love.

In the words of the poet Rumi, 'The religion of Love is apart from all religions, ... the Lovers of God have no religion but God'. 'The 'lovers God' are after with the passion of those who are truly alive. One could, indeed, say that life or God burns to express itself and challenges men to awaken from the stupor of egocentric stagnation.

Once we come to realize that we have never really lived, that the content of our consciousness is shallow with superficialities and tragically filled with suffering which calls for resolution, we shall delay no longer. To us Death becomes significant for before it comes to us we must discover Love Our spirits must surely long to begin that enquiry.

Rumi says that 'they that know the conventions are of one sort; they whose souls burn are of another, For the person whose being is aflame becomes a beacon to the rest of humanity; he is free and unrestricted; he is of the family of those who love.

-The Theosophist
March 1984

WORLD OIL OUTLOOK; SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA

Partha S. Ghosh writes:

"The year 1973 was a watershed in the history of energy. That year the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries

(O P E C) took the momentous decision to raise the price of crude oil multifold resulting in the worst energy crunch in recorded history. The trend which the OPEC decision set in motion continued unabated and by 1980- 81 oil was sold at a price about five times as that of 1972. The unprecedented rise in the price of oil resulted in a world- wide search for alternate source of energy and for knowledge conserve the non-renewable sources of energy that were heading slowly but steadily towards depletion. But although research is under way for an alternate chean source, oil is likely to remain one of the most important sources of energy during the foreseeable future, and its high cost, in spite of the latest indications pointing at a sustained glut in the oil market, I would continue to constrain the economic development in a major part of the world. It is against this background that the present paper purports to analyse the world oil outlook, assess the possible repercussions of the current oil glut on the Indian economy and gauge its implications for India's foreign and energy policies....

There have been sustained efforts particularly after the 1973 oil crisis, to discover

1. In 1980, the World Bank estimated that during the current decade price of oil would grow at 3 per cent annually. See World Bank, Energy in the Developing Countries (Washington D. C., August 1980), P.I. Of late, however, there has been a glut in the oil market resulting in a fall in the price of oil .... recent trends, see "Swaminathan S. Aiyar, "Oil Crisis: The High Point is Past, World Focus (New Delhi), Vol 3. no 8, August 1982, pp 14-18.

alternate sources of energy. For decades it has been considered by many that nuclear energy would replace oil, But...costs are Prohibitive...it appears that oil is and will continue to remain a very important source of energy. Hence it is imperative to assess the world oil situation so as to enable one to gauge its implication for the third world in general and India in particular.

### WORLD OIL OUTLOOK

Since oil is an exhaustible service of energy one is faced naturally with the question-How much longer will oil rule the world?

With new oil discoveries coming every day and the possibility of ever new scientific and technological breakthrough it is not possible to predict with arithmetical precision about the future of oil availability....

Of the proven oil reserves the OPEC has 450 billion barrels. If its present production rate of 30 million barrels perday continues then its output would start declining by the end of this century, and by 2025, it would reach a situation of total depletion.

There have been various projections about OPEC's share in the future oil supply of the world ... In addition to an ever increasing demand from outside there was a similar demand in the OPEC states themselves rising at the rate of 15-20 percent a year. It has projected that by 1990 they would consume six million barrels per day. Hence it was feared that by the turn of the century the OPEC countries would probably cease to be exporters.9

9. Rene G. Ortiz, N. 2, page-205. Melvin A. Corant and Fern Racine Gold, The Geopolitics of Energy (Boulder, Colorado 1978) page-51-56.

Areas other than OPEC, such as the USSR, China, Alaska, North Sea (U.K. and Norway), Latin America (mainly Mexico), and South and South East Asia contribute significantly to the totel world oil and gas supply...

Though the non OPEC countries are emerging as exporters, the amount of exportable oil ou side OPEC is not large enough to undermine the market clout of OPEC's largest producers... one fundamental change from 1973 has taken place and that is that the NOPEC countries have now put the world market in a better balance.

## Oil crisis and the Developing World

The oil crisis has severely affected the economic development of the non-oil developing world. In 1980 they spent almost 20 billion en importing oil. If the domestic production does not pick up sufficiently in these countries then it is estimated that by 1990 the oil import bill would rise to 110 billion (in constant 1980 U.S. dollars) ... The oil importing developing countries may also be broadly divided into two categories. First, the poor-developing countries which include not only most of sub-saharan Africa but also the most populous countries of Asia including India. Bangladesh Pakistan ....

The primary problem facing these countries is that their per capita income is extremely low and a substantial part of their population live below the poverty line20... they have to increase their oil

20. I. G. Patel (ICC Conference on Energy, Lisbon, 1-5 November, 1980, in "Report on ICC Conference on Energy", A Challenge for Business and other Meetings, (New Delhi, FICCI, 1980) pages 62.

imports at least five or six per cent a year to sustain their economic growth.....the impact of foreign exchange shortage caused by the rising oil is going to affect the economics of the oil importing countries at least for a few years to come....

To salvage the economy from the problems caused by the oil crunch the poor countries would need huge finances from international bodies like the I. M.F., World Bank, etc at low interest rates...

Secondly, the oil surplus countries and the industrially developed countries are required to increase their official development assistance (O.D.A.) to the poor countries...

Thirdly, the poor countries would have to increase their export trade... But now the growing danger of protectionism, caused by stagflation, is causing serious problem for export trade of the poor countries.

### INDIA AND THE OIL CRISIS

Like the other poor oil Importing countries the Indian economy too has been subjected to severe strain by the oil crisis. Though its crude import has remained more or less static since 1970-71, the import bill has increased 42 times, from \$146 million in 1970-71 to ... \$6.3 billion in 1980-81. The current account which was in surplus by some \$1 billon swung into a large deficit in 1980 of \$3.5 billion >5.....India had to take a huge loan of 5 billion SDRS from the IMF to cushion its foreign exchange deficits.

Policy Implications:—

## OIL AS FOREIGN POLICY FACTOR

Notwithstanding the good news from domestic oil industry and the talk of India becoming self-sufficient in oil it ls still unlikely that India would cease to be an oil importer... Views have also been expressed that the present slump in the price of oil may not last long.....India's diplomacy has to be tailored, in the first place, to ensure a smooth supply of oil from external sources and secondly, to develop viable economic links with oil exporters so as to make both the partners mutually dependent on each other thereby reducing the vulnerability of the Indian economy to the whims and fancies of the oil exporting countries. To effect these, India's dependence on external supply has to be diversified and viable economic relations have to be built up with the Persian Gulf Middle East countries. who are India's largest suppliers.

So far as diversification of oil imports is concerned India's efforts have been commendable...Although Persian Gulf Middle East countries continue to be India's major exporters, yet since 1980 we have on our list of suppliers such countries as Mexico, Venezuela, Malaysia, Algeria and Nigeria... The Soviet Union has over the years become a major one.

But inspite of these diversifications India's dependence on the Middle East oil still enormous. So it is imperative that India's energy diplomacy take serious note of the development in the Middle Eastern region and tailor its policy so as not to jeopardize its economic growth which a cut in the oil supply from the region might load to...

<sup>25.</sup> Ibid, page 53-55, Government of India
"Economic Survey, 1981-82.

## INDIA'S WEST ASIA POLICY

In the Arab-Israeli conflict India's policy has been one of expressing solidarity with the cause of the Arabs... Al ngside wooing the Arabs politically, India also made efforts to develop economic relations with those which had overnight become rich... By the late seventies, India's vigourous economic diplomacy was rewarded with Promising returns 38... India also became the second largest supplier of manpower to the region, after Pakistan....

Many Indians now realise that a breakthrough in India- Pakistan relations and India's ability to improve its relations with the United States are two essential conditions for its success in getting a large slice of Arab development and investment funds for Indian projects and ensuring significant Indian participation in Persian Gulf development 40.

The price and availability of oil more often than not depend on political factors rather than on economic ones. The first oil crisis was sparked off by the Iran-Egypt War. while the second by the collapse of the Shah of Iran followed by the Iran-Iraq war... There also is existent the destabilising factor of undemarcated offshore

/boundaries in the Persian Gulf. There is no other international water of comparable size in the world surrounded by so many different political units 13 in all. With the new discoveries of oil in the Gulf this element can be a potential ground for conflict 41...

Taking advantage of its position as the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement India can use its good offices as far as possible to resist the forces of destabilisation and prevent a fresh outbreak of hostility... Things do not augur too well for the future in so far as India's oil imports from the Middle East Persian Gulf region is concerned. There is, however, one redeeming feature of the 'present situation and that is, since the world is becoming less and less dependent on the Gulf for its oil supplies there is less possibility of political turmoil in the area having the same kind of impact that it had during the last decade.

-India Quarterly
October-December 1983

## REFLECTIONS ON THE WORLD ECONOMY

Robert Heilbroner (Professor-New School for Social Research, New York) writes:

Moods change quickly in economics; problems do not. Only a few months ago, the economics profession was in a state of disarray it had not known since the Great Depression......

<sup>41.</sup> Will. D. Swearingen, "Scurces of Conflict Over Oil in the Persian Arabian Gulf", The Middle East Journal (Washington, D.C.), Vol 35, No. 3, Summer 1981 page-315-30.

<sup>38,</sup> The Persian Gulf countries where India built significant projects were Kuwait, Dubai, Iraq, UAE and Saudi Arabia. See "Indian Expertise in Projects", Calcutta Engineering Export Promotion Council, Calcutta November 1980.

<sup>40.</sup> Bhabani Sen Gupta, "Bridging the Gulf" and "The Gulf Narrows", both in "India Today (New Delhi), 1-15
June 1981, and 15 May 1982, respectively.

Today as the U.S. economy slowly recovers and the stock market is buoyant.... Yet I think that, deep down, economists are worried about our prospects. In part, this has to do with the uncertainty about how fully we will emerge from the most arduous economic ordeal since the 1930s. But the deeper worry, now that the economic news is more reassuring, concerns the problem of inflation. The trouble is that, good news or not, it is becoming ever more difficult to imagine a system that is not latently inflation prone......

I think, that a world with price horizens as flat as prairies is gone forever. enlightening to think back the ordeal just behind us. The two.vear ordeal was the result of an unprecedented Administration Reagan effort by the and the Federal Reserve Board (Fed) to of the American wring inflation out economy, and the rate of inflation did, in fact, fall from above 10 percent in early 1981 to something between 2 and 3 percent to-day......Although we are still deeply mired in a depression, with nearly a tenth of the labor force still out of work and a quarter of plant capacity standing idle, voices are already being raised to say that inflation will resurface in a matter of a year, or even less, as we begin to absorb the unemployed, utilize more plant capacity and avail ourselves of our expanded supplies of credit. have run the gauntlet to rid ourselves of our propensity for inflation but the propensity is still there. I suspect there is no getting rid of it.

Along with a mounting uneasiness about the inherently inflationary properties of a modern capitalist system has come a changed attitude on the part of the economics profession toward the seriousness of inflation itself.

In the early stages of inflation, before we moved into double digit territory, it was regarded as more of a nuisance than a threat..... The cost of living moved up, but income moved up even faster, so that average "real" income -- that is, income adjusted for inflation -- continued to rise. Per-Capita real income was 30 percent higher in late 1981 than it had been in 1969, despite a 60 percent fall in the purchasing power of the dollar. At the sametime, the distribution of incomes among families had also remained The escalator of inflaastonishingly stable. tion had neither toppled those at the head of the stairs nor pushed up those at the bottom. In the face of these facts, a good many economists, including myself, tended to view the problem of inflation as more political or psychological than economic......

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An aspect of inflation that had nothing to do with "money illusion"..... was the damage that the inflationary process wreaks upon a nation's structure of credit; that is upon its ability to borrow and upon the soundness of its banks and other lending institutions. The danger arises because an extended period of mounting prices tempts everyone--businessmen and householders alike - to borrow..... lenders will oblige borrowers only at higher and higher rates of interest, to compensate for the expected loss of purchasing power and for shorter and shorter periods, to cut down the wait before the loans return. The result continued inflation results in the disappearance of a central necessity for a capitalist system ——— a financial arrangement that will permit companies to borrow for five or ten years for projects requiring that much time in order to pay out. In an inflationary period, such borrowing is out of the question except at horrendous rates of interest......

Borrowers are constantly under pressure to pay off yesterday's loan to day, and to day's tomorrow.

That pressure pushes the system toward what has been called Ponzi finance -- In the corporate world. Ponzi finance results in companies, borrowing money just to pay interest on their existing debts. One reason that Chairman Paul Volcker held the Federal Reserve Board so tenaciously to its tightmoney policy was the alarming rate at which the American corporate world was approaching a Ponzi-like condition...Under such a policy, the Federal Reserve Board, by the various means at its disposal, restricts the growth of the supply of money. With this supply increasing more slowly than the demand, the price of money rises. In 1981, the price rose until the prime rate—the rate charged by commercial banks to their best customers—crept over 20 percent....

By the end of 1982, after 15 months of tight money, there had been enough lay offs and bankruptcies to raise the unemployment rate from 7.5 percent to almost 11 percent, and enough distress sales, old-tashioned price cutting, and union give-backs to stop the consumer price index from rising altogether......

No one expected the gauntlet to last so long, or to cause so much pain.....

No less important was the painful effect of the tight-money policy on the international economic scene. As interest rates in the United States reached record heights, tens of billions of dollars' worth of francs and marks and pounds left European banks and portfolios, to be invested in United States bonds and money-market instruments....European banking authorities sought to counter the

suction of high American rates by instituting tight-money policies of their own....

The consequences were precisely the same there as in the United States; economic activity was brought to a standstill

The sobering part of our recent experience, then, has been the realization that tight-money is a very dangerous instrument for fighting inflation....tight-money halts inflation, all right, but at the cost of creating a full-scale depression. And once tight money is relaxed, there we are again in danger of finding ourselves on the slippery road to inflation.....

There are, of course, ways of combating inflation which avoid the asphyxiation of a monetary contraction: direct wage and price controls; various "incomes policies" that rely on tax incentives or penalties; and yet other schemes, such as knocking out all indexing systems and concerting the nations wage negotiations at a single time, to avoid the uncoordinated scramble of our present system.....

Monetarists urge that, instead of entrusting the creation of money, to the no doubt well-intentioned but hopelessly misinformed and politically vulnerable judgement of the Federal Reserve's officials, we adopt the suggestion made by the Nobel Prize winning economist Milton Friedman that the supply of money be permitted to grow at some fixed rate-that the growth of the money supply should be mandated by law, allowing the Reserve authorities no license to stray from the path of virtue.

Many econmists, have regarded the substance of Friedman's proposal with respect,

while disagreeing about its practical or political feasibility...

The reason is the increasing difficulty of quavantining American supply of money from-a vastly larger supply, located oversezs, that runs into and out of American banks ...... Now we have a very curious state of affairs. The international volume of dollar deposits has grown larger but unlike bank deposits in New York or Los Azgeles the new overseas deposits are not under the supervision of the Federal Reserve system. The consequence is the emergence of a form of "American" money over which America has no control whatsoever. And the amounts involved are not small....

This enormous pool of Eurodollars is not exactly comparable to the much smaller pool of "real" American dollars, because many Eurodollars consist of interbank loans which are not available for commercial use, the way U. S. deposits are. Nonetheless, all Eurodollar deposits are capable of being moved around as their owners wish. As a result Friedman's proposal for an automatically regulated increase in the national money supply seems cut of date. For there no longer exists a "national money supply......

Economists have proposed three courses of action to cope with this vast and threatening change in the economic environment. One is the introduction into the world's currency reservoir of separations, provably through the formation of regional currency blocs... The problems, of course are how to establish those regional blocs in the first place and how to negotiate the arrangements among them that would place barriers in the way of a free movement of currencies from one bloc to another.....

A second possibility, much talked about these days, is the re-establishment of a world-currency regime. comparable the one that was concluded at the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944..... Here, the difficulty is precisely the one that ultimately contributed to the undoing of the Bretton Woods accord—the inability of any single nation to maintain the necessary solidity of its own money as the currency to which all other countries could hitch their own. A regime of stable, fixed exchange rates, .... requires for its success the undisputed hegemony of a dominant power..... that hegemonic capacity has been irreparably damaged by our loss of economic supremacy.

Then why not Gold?.....the hunger for gold, seems a dubious basis on which to rest the chances for a rational world order......

With all the attendant difficulties, I expect that we will gradually work our way to some regionalization of currencies, or to the re-establishment of some kind of supercurrency' or even to the gold standard... Today, the pace and pattern of world credit growth are determined by the hopes and judgements of international banks, investors and corporate officials—not sitting as a single responsible body but acting in the involuntary unison that emerges from the competition of the market place......

Like the present state of affairs in finance, the present trade situation is not attractive, either. Not only the United States but the whole of the incustrial world is still half dragged down by depression, and one of the consequences of this global stagnation is that a long period of expansion of world trade has come to a halt. The years from 1950 to the mid—1970's witnessed a quadrupling of

the volume of world trade, which eased frictions caused by the interpretation of exports and the internationalization of production. Without this continuing enlargement of the field in which economic life is carried on, international competition turns quickly into international economic war... No doubt, world trade will again increase, once the present global stagnation gives way to a resumption of growth, but meanwhile the very intensity of international competition becomes a major impediment to the renewal of growth ...

Span-Jan '84

## EUROPE'S WORKING WOMEN MORE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW THAN ON THE JOB

Despite strong doses of legislative and juridical antidotes, sex discrimination at work in countries of the European Economic Community is alive and kicking.

Some statistics show that out of 30 million working women in the Community, about 4 million (13 per cent) have found from personal experience that the cards were stacked against them on the job.

There are two principal reasons for this situation, according to a study\* published by the ILO. One is that few women use the law to fight back. The other is that rising unemployment and fear of dismissal are preventing many female workers from pursuing complaints of sex discrimination or demands for equal pay.

Yet all EEC member states have by now ratified the ILO equal pay convention (No 100). Moreover, the norms on equality are anchored in the Treaty of Rome, further

bolstered by the EEC Council's directives to fight sex bias in remuneration, access to employment, vocational training, promotions and working conditions.

"Law usually lags behind social and economic developments. In the case of equality between men and women in the labour law of the European Community we encounter the opposite phenomenon, "the study comments.

The existing EEC norms on equality "are in advance of the realities of the labour market. "it adds."

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National case law provides an insight into the real life situation. Overall there is now a noticeable shift from litigation over equal pay to disputes over discrimination concerning access to employment and dismissal.

In Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and Ireland men were appointed to jobs in preference to women as teachers, social workers and cooks. The question before the courts was whether the appointments constituted discrimination on grounds of sex or whether they could be justified on objective grounds. In the majority of cases the courts found for the plaintiffs.

In Denmark and the United Kingdom the courts ruled in favour of women who sought access to occupations traditionally reserved for men, among them as sailors and butchers,

National legislation barring the employment of married women, such as the Irish law prohibiting the appointment of married nurse to permanent jobs or the rule that women in the civil service must resign upon marriage, has been repealed.

However, recent cases of court action

against discriminatory dismissals are few and far between. Some examples:

In Denmark a woman who lost her job because she was often ill during her pregnancy was awarded compensation by the court,

lin the United Kingdom a travel agency clerk, dismissed on the assumption that her husband was the "breadwinner," received £100 for injury to feelings.

The Scottish Employment Appeal Tribunal has ruled that the practice of firing parttimers first may have a discriminatory effect since most of the workers concerned are women.

### REMEDIES

"The real answer to problems of discrmination regarding access to employment and dismissals is an economic one, not a legal one," the study points out.

Nonetheless, there is still room for improving the legal protection.

"First, women's rights in the European Community can be more successfully invoked if the enforcement procedures in the member states are backed by national equality councils, as is already done in the United Kingdom and Ireland.

"Second, the remedies available should be effective and adequate," the study holds.

For the aggrieved party "a penalty imposed on the employer or a mere declaratory judgement as to the existence of a violation of equality legislation, an apology, nominal damages or damages limited to compensation for injury to feelings may not be considered in all cases a satisfactory redress," the study says.

It proposes that a more adequate measure in some cases of sex discrimination releted to access to employment would be the mandatory conclusion of an employment contract with the aggrieved party or the payment of real rather than symbolic damages.

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As regards discriminatory dismissal the "only valid remedy may be reinstatement in the job or compensation," the study concludes.

\*C. E. Landau: "Recent legislation and case law in the EEC on sex equality in employment", International Labour Review, No. 1, ILO, Geneva, April 1984.

MOVING TOWARDS UNIVERSAL BUDDHISM:

AN EMERGING ROLE FOR EUROPEAN BUDDHISTS AT HOME AND ABROAD Ananda W. P. Guruge writes:

It is indeed most remarkable how, in so short a time, the Buddhists of Europe have succeeded, through exemplary perseverence inspired by far-sighted pragmatism, to move towards a practical concept of Universal Buddhism. It is equally significant that they have progressively organized themselves into a united co-operative movement, capable of attending to their own spiritual and intellectual needs as well as lending a helping hand to Buddhists elsewhere. While felicitating them on their unique success, the vicissitudes they have gone through need to be recalled as a source of inspiration and encouragement...

THE ADVENT OF BUDDHISM TO EUROPE:

It was in the third century before Christ.

that the missionaries of Emperor Asoka brought the message of the Budcha as far as the Hellenic kingdoms of Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene and Epirus. 1 By the third century A.C., St. Clement of Alexandria knew enough of Buddhists to write of "Indians that obey the precepts of Boutta, whom, through exaggeration of his dignity, they honour as God". 2 But until the first quarter of the nineteenth century, hardly any further mention of Buddhism is to be found in Europe.

When, as a result of the discovery of the vast Buddhist literature in Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese, Buddhism came to be known in Europe in early 1800s, it remained for at least eight decades a subject of study by scholars. Most of the pioneering European scholars, though impressed by the ethical content of Buddhism, remained objective and their effort had been to understand and interpret the texts, developing for this purpose the necessary dictionaries grammars and translations....

## THE ERA OF SCHOLARLY INTEREST':

In these early days, Buddhism as known in Europe, was comparable to that proverbial elephant whom the seven blind men described as a wall or a rope or mortar and so forth, depending on what part of the elephant each touched.

The pioneering Buddhist scholars were divided not only by their objectives and attitude to Buddhism but also by the sources on which they depended. They were particularly confused by the diverse schools and sects of Buddhism and their effort to understand them as developments parallel to the rise of protestant Christianity confounded the issue further. In no other field, perhaps, was so much knowledge gathered

and presented in so short a time but with so little direct impact on the people as in Buddhist studies in Europe in the nineteenth century....

...Buddhism was gaining a foothold in Europe-moving slowly but steadily from being a subject of historico-critical study by scholars or an object of intellectual curiosity and even a fad in some circles to becoming a serious way of life and a system of ethical values, accepted, cherished and practised with understanding and devotion by a small but highly motivated group of persons....At first, the inspiration and support came to them from Burma and Sri Lanka, as a result of which, the Southern or Theravada Buddhism remained more pronounced. But as the horizons widened and contact with Chines.e Japanese and Tibetan Buddhists began to be established, there developed a tendency towards eclecticism, which has become the most distinct characteristic of Buddhism in Europe.

In fact, thirty-three years ago, Christmas Humphreys concluded his survey of World Buddhism with the following observation:

"The Western mind will never be content with second-hand clothing, and all that Western Buddhists have a right to do is to proclaim the Dhamma to all who have 'ears to hear', and to suggest why, and in principle how, it should be applied. It may be that from themingling streams of the Pali Canon. the compassionate splendour of the Mahayana and the astringent force of Zen will come a Navayana, a new 'vehicle' of salvation. There are many signs of it......Twelve Principles of Buddhism6...may well be the handbook of that Navayana ... It may be, on the other hand, that Buddhism can better serve the West by offering, not the readymade cathedral of a new philosophy, but the cut and well-used stones of Buddhist principles, to be built into the temple of Western thought as the awakening mind of the West has need of them. That mind is at present eclectic, and many prefer to choose from the store of Buddhist truths the wherewithal for its patent need....

In the immediate years which followed this statement, a resurgence of Buddhism took place—notably in Austria, Belguim, Italy, Netherlands, Switzerland and Scandinavian countries to coincide with the effort made through the World Fellowship of Buddhists to foster solidarity among Buddhists.

## THE BUDDHIST UNION OF EUROPE

The most remarkable outcome of the eclectic movement among the European Buddhists, which most successfully brokedown many a traditional barrier among schools and sects of Buddhism, is the establishment of the Buddhist Union of Europe on 13 October 1975....

With such a significant step taken to consolidate their postition and to develop the necessary infrastructure for the promotion of Buddhism, the European Buddhists have qualified themselves to undertake two new and urgent tasks: One in Europe itself and the other in the international arena. The evolution of Buddhism in Europe from the days of objective and even hostile stucy by scholars to the present situation of a vibrant united front, which has been briefly described in this paper, justifies beyond any doubt the confidence with which the co-operation of the European Buddhists is sought in these tasks....

## SHARING THE EXPERIENCE IN ESTABLISHING BUDDHIST UNITY

In the international arena, the role for the

European Buddhists is to share their unique experience in evolving a universal Buddhism. The size of Europe and its facilities for communication have contributed greatly in bringing Buddhists of different schools and sects together. The understanding which has developed among them is, no doubt, based on the discovery of mutually reinforcing similarities in doctrines and the underlying value system. The Buddhist literature which has developed in Europe during the last tew decades has a particular relevance as it has superseded erstwhile prejudices and drawn on the best of Buddhist thinking with no reservations....

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## CONCLUSION

It is my fervent wish that the European Buddhists would focus attention on the needs of their co-religionists in and outside Europe, as outlined above. By coming to their assistance, not only will the Buddhists of the world be once again drawn into closer co-operation but their joint efforts would contribute immentsely to both the propagation of Buddhism and, more so, the promotion of peace and prosperity among the humanity.

### NOTES

- Asoka's Rock Edic; XIII: See A. L. Basham: The wonder That was India, London, 1956 p. 54.
- Quoted by Christmas Humphreys: Buddhism, Penguin, London, 1983 p. 223. See also J. Barthelemy Saint Hilaire: The Buddha and his Religion, London, 1860 P. 26.
- 6. The Twelve principles of Buddhism Constitute an effort made by Christmas Humphreys at the request of the Buddhist Society of London in 1945.

—The Maha Bodhi July—September, 84,....

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## SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1984

varied opinions. Whereas some maintain that the article must be reformulated, others reject the recommendation of restricting the discretionary powers given to Governors since they maintain that Governors, in the main, have used their powers constitutionally.

It has also been suggested that Governors ought to be appointed by the President on the advice of an Inter-State council from a panel of names forwarded by the State Legislature instead of by the Union Council of Ministers, as at present.

In conclusion one may say however that whatever may be the opinion of the States, it is apparant that everyone acknowledges the need to have a link between the Centre and the States as also an office which may take over the administration of any state if the normally elected one breaks down. For this reason primarily no purpose will be served if the powers and functions of Governors are circumscribed, thereby reducing them to being total nonentities and cyphers.

## SOCIAL FORESTRY

Recent social forestry projects implemented by the West Bengal Government have apparantly had some impact on the income generation of villagers in the districts of Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapore among several others. In many such areas the villagers have grown trees in specially defined areas of waste land, quite successefully, although their efforts to improve forestry in the intensively cultivated districts have not been so fruiful initially. Obviously greater knowledge regarding crop combination for improving agroeforesty is

required and this is specially necessary where there are long gestation periods of trees since farmers have to find other sources of income during these periods. With the help of the social forestry division cultivation of minor crops in between the rows of trees have been carried out eg ginger, arahar, turmeric etc in South Bengal, but it is recognised that the matter has to be studied mere scientifically.

In order to formulate and implement forestry programmes promoting income generation, it has become essential to involve the Panchayets for example and ascertain the involvement of the villagers. Schemes for recovery of cost of planting from the sale of the forest produce can only be ensured through their support and cooperation.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the most efficient breed of trees yielding increment of the farmer's incomes are those which can be used as firewood. Such a breed is the Eucalyptus which can be cultivated for sale of firewood. These grow fast, the gestation period being about six years, and they have a high potential return since the tops, branches and bark amounting to approximately  $\frac{1}{3}$  of their wood output would meet the full needs of these cultivators.

The most important result of these schemes is that they change unproductive lands, specially denuded forests, into productive ones which benefit the rural population in a number of ways. However, a great deal has to be done still in order to motivate the farmers so that the main objective of integrating social forestry programmes into the socio-economic fabric of rural communities may be achieved.

# CENTENARY OF THE ABOLITION OF THE IMMOLATION OF WIDOWS

By-RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

The practice of the immolation of widows, misnamed Suttee in English, was first prohibited by Albuquerque within Portuguese India in 1510. The Mughal emperor Akbar attempted to stop it. He forbade compulsion, voluntary Suttees alone being permitted. Towards the end of the 18th century Sir C. Malet and Jonathan Duncan in Bombay took the initiative among the British authorities to put a stop this inhuman custom. But it was to on the 4th December, 1829, that Lord William Bentinck carried a regulation in Council which declared that all who abetted Suttee were "guilty of culpable homicide". The part which Rammohan Roy played in the suppression of this barbarous custom is well known.

It is not our intention to engage in any discussion as to whether the Hindu Shastras enjoin the practice. The trick by which in the Rigveda agre was changed to a gneh to give a sanction to it, is well known. "The earlier Indian law books do not enjoin it

"In order to give the custom a religious sanction, a passage in the Rigveda (XXVIII 7) which, directed the widow to rise from her husband's furneral pyre and go forth in front (agre) was altered into to go into the fire (Agneh) R. W. Frazer in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II, P. 207

and Manu simply commands the widow to lead a life of chastity and asceticism" (Encyclopaedia Britannica). According to Chambers Encyclopaedia, "the researches of European scholars have made it absolutely certain that no countenance to this barbarous rite can be derived from the oldest and most sacred scriptures. The few passages professedly cited from the Vedas have been proved to be misquoted, garbled, or wholly false; and the laws of Manu are silent on the subject".

"The practice was sporadically observed in India when the Macedonians reached India late in the 4th century B. C..... About the 6th Cenfury A D. a recrudescence of the rite took place, and with the help of corrupted Vedic texts it soon grew to have a full religious sanction. But even so it was not general throughout India. It was rare in the Punjab; and in Malabar, the most primitive part of Southern India, it was forbidden. In its medieval form it was essentially a Brahminic rite, and it was where Brahiminism was strongest, in Bengal and along the Ganges valley and in Oudh and Rajputana, that it was usual. "(Ency. Brit.).

It is a mistake to believe that this custom was peculiar to the Hindus and that they alone were to blame for it. It is also a mistake to hold, as some orthodox Hindus do, that the voluntary sacrifice of widows on grandmother, is strangled that she may accompany it to the world of spirits."

In concluding this section Herbert Spencer observes:

"As further qualifying the interpretation to be put on sanguinary customs of this kind, we must bear in mind that not only are inferiors and dependants sacrificed at a funeral, with or without their assent, but the superiors themselves in some cases decide to die. Fiji is not the only place where people advancing in years are buried alive by their dutiful children. The like practice holds in Vate, where an old chief requests his sons to destroy him in this way."

In Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples (English translation, London, 1890' p. 391), Schrader writes that Indo-Germanic custom ordained that the wife should die with her husband, and this custom he ascribes to the desire to provide the deceased with what was dear to him during life as well as 'to make the life of the housefather safe on all sides, and to render him an object of perpetual care and anxiety to his family.'

(Ency. Reli. & Ethics)

J. A. MacCulloch writes in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics that the custom of a wife's being slain at her husband's death 'is frequently found as an extreme act of austere devotion, the wife devoting herself to death out of affection. Instances of this are found in Fiji, where wives were frequently sacrificed at their own instance, in India, where a wife lit the pyre with her own hands; in China, where wives will take

their own lives to follow their husbands into the next world; among the ancient Greeks, with whom historic instances of this suicidal devotion are recorded; and among the ancient Celts."

E, Sidney Hartland writes in the same work:

"The rite was probably common to Aryan-speaking peoples while in a state of savagery, but abandoned as they progressed in civilization....

"It is perhaps necessary to add that many of our accounts of the immolation of human victims on the occasion of a death represent some, at all events, of the victims as dving willingly, or even committing suicide. It is conceivable that voluntary death may, in a certain number of cases, be the result of in tense grief. The vast number, however, of deaths apparently voluntary are, as in the case of the the dependents Hindu widow' OL constrained by of a Gaulish chief. custom and the knowledge that refusal. while it destroys the religious merit of the act, will entail compulsion, or at least that life will be speedily rendered intolerable".

Conjugal love and devotion are highly praiseworthy. But it is a misuse of them which leads to suicide. Male appreciation of suttee could have been considered honest and sincere if even a very small fraction of widowers had burned themselves to ashes on the funeral pyres of their dead wives. There have been innumerable women who have continued to live after their husbands' death, who were just as loving and devoted wives as any who sacrificed themselves on the death of their husbands. The value of a woman's life and personality is not lost as soon as she becomes a widow. She has

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a separate personality. Her personality can still grow after widowhood and be of use to herself, to the family, to society, the nation and mankind at large. The abolition of the practice of immolation of widows in India a hundred year ago, therefore, marks not only the end of a cruel and barbarous custom, but also the recognition of the value of the personality of women for its own sake.

It is a pity that, such a memorable

event has not been widely celebrated. And even the Calcutta meeting to celebrate it, which was presided over by Sir Charu Chandra Ghosh (who delivered a speech containing valuable historical information), was attended by only five ladies.

Modern Reveiew
January 1930



# PASSE-T-ELLE POEMES DE MARKO RISTIC

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T

Le diagramme de la pensee

Qui se maintient d'un côte

Pragmatiquement

Pour se dissoudre de l'autre côte

Quelle part est celle du vrai Quelle part celle de l'onde Ou du trefle incarnat Farouche a quatre feuilles Et où est le sang De l'enigme Ce manteau du ciel profond D'une tenebre bleue The diagram of thought
Stands firm on one side
Pragmatically
To crumble on the other

Which is the side of truth
And which of undulation
Or of the flesh-pink shamrock
The four-leaved clover
And where is the blood
Of the enigma
This cloak of vast sky
Of stormy blue

# JOB RESERVATION: POLITICAL AND LEGAL PERSPECTIVES-1978 Mrs. LEELA SINGH

These two extreme slogans, echoing all over Bihar these days, have thrown the state virtually into a caste war. Everybody seems determined to defend their "caste" for it is "the very structure of social survival".

Following the proclamation in the Governor's address to the Assembly that "26 percent of government jobs will be reserved for the backward classes from April, 1, 1978" the battle lines were drawn between the backward castes and forward castes.1 The impact has been so deep and intense that the people of the State could degenerate to using humiliating and insulting expressions for the Loknayak, the creator of the Janata Revolution. The reaction seems to have crossed all boundaries of political, economic and social philosophy and generated an atmosphere of a "free for all" and that too, unfortunately, on caste basis. At the conclusion of the Lok Sabha elections of 1977, the Indian democracy was complemented profusely for shunning altogether considerations of caste or religion. Only twelve months later, caste conflicts are

threatening to destroy the very basis of Indian democracy. It is most unfortunate that all these things are happening in Bihar - the homeland of the "Total Revolution". Whatever this may be due to, it is a sad commentary on Indian democracy and the administrative insight of the leaders and people of our government 2

#### **RESERVATION:**

"Reservation" or "Positive discrimination" is a term of art which has multiple concepts and implications. It means earmarking of places, positions or posts for certain groups, communities or class of persons, which may be made in favour of refugees, physically handicapped, disadvantaged dependents of members of armed forces who died in action, females, members of minority communities and castes etc. Such facility is provided either in a skill market or in a job market and may either be confined to the entry-stage or extended to the post entry stage as well.3

Reservation of seats in Union and State Legislatures and in jobs is a legacy of British imperialism. Soon after the first war of Indian independence in 1851 the British adopted the policy of "divide and rule" in persuance of which they granted separate electorates to Harijans and Mussalmans. Gandhiji resisted the move, resorted to hunger strike but failed to stem it as he later failed to stop the country's partition. I innah who opposed separation of Burma from India at the Round Table Conference became the author of India—Pakistan partition. Both Jinnah and Ambedkar telt that they did not have any position in Indian leadership, and both blamed Gandhiji and the Indian social structure for it. Ultimately Ambedkar succumbed to the imperialist tactics of the British far more easily than Jinnah.

### BENEFICIAL IMPACT OF RESERVATION:

### Reservation is necessary when -

- (1) There is demand for certain commodities which far outstrip supply and the community does not permit a free market equilibrium in such commodity.
- (2) It also aims to ensure better and larger participation of various groups of people in society in the management of their own affairs and in running their own Govt.
- (3) It has a corrective content in as much as it makes amends for the past injustices and deprivations suffered by a section of society.3

### BANEFUL IMPACT OF RESERVATION:

These advantages of reservation need to be weighted against its disadvantages for better appreciation —

Any reservation adversely affects efficiency and merit for the simple reason that it shuns open competition and selection on merit. At best there may be competition amongst candidates of a particular group and the limited choice candidate may be any thing from slightly inferior to far inferior to the candidate available from the open market. That meritocracy is the casualty in reservation is undeniable, which not only creates annoyance, disgust and disappointment to the brilliant, meritorious but also adversely affects the working standard, teaching standard and administration of institutions, of states and ultimately of the Nation.

It also produces devisive trends particularly in a society which is already divided on the basis of caste, religion, ethnic groups etc.5

### RESERVATION AS PER JANATA PARTY'S ELECTION MANIFESTO:

The Governor's Address on March'78 in the joint session of the State Legislature on the opening day of the Budget session of Bihar Assembly regarding 26% job reservation for persons belonging to backward castes resulted in a bitter controversy between the Chief Minister and his adversaries within the Janata Party. The Chief Minister defended the policy on the floor of the House and maintained that the Policy was in keeping with the Janata Party's election manifesto,6 in which it had promised to implement the recommendations of the Backward classes commission, headed by the Congress leader, Mongeri Lal.

### INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE:

The flames of casteism were fanned by supporters and opponents of job reservation

-cutting across all barriors of Political affiliations However, Mr. Karpoori Thakur made a significant change on March 21, 1978 conceeding the economic basis for the purpose. After consulting New Delhi his Cabinet approved a new formula barring people from the backward classes whose monthly income exceeds Rs. 1000/- p m. Besides the policy assured a 16% reservation for women.

Following this announcement anti-reservationists stepped up their agitation, while the Backward classes-Federation condemned the policy. The hard line Forward League held a session on March 22, 1978 and pledged to continue fighting the Government's policy. It also decided to organize rallies and carry on an anti-reservation campaign at the block level. A big rally was organised at Patna on March 31, 73 which was teargassed and lathicharged. Six legislators including Mr. Vikram Kuer. Mr. Jagdish Sharma, Mr. Vijai Kumar Singh, Mr. Mithilesh Kumar Singh, and Mr. Raghavendra Pratap Singh as well as 100 persons and many policemen were injoured. Over 200 students besides Mr. Rama Kant Pandey, Mr. Shaligram Singh 'Tomar' and Mr. Akhleq Ahmad (all M. L. As) were rounded up by the police.7

The feeling of insecurity apparently angered the Rajputs, Bhumihars, Brahmins and Kayasthas (all upper castes) who had been in the forefront of J. P's movement in 1974 which had ushered in Janata rule.

Immediately after this group meetings were held and battle lines were drawn. The All India Backward Classes Federation led by Mr. R. L. Chandapuri, who was leading the "reservation" movement for many years.

jumped into the fray. Another group of backward classes led by Janata M.P.s Mr. Ramawadhesh Singh and Mr. Lallo Prasad Yadava started a parallel movement. They invited Shahi Imam Abdullah Bukhari of Jama Masjid, Delhi to address a rally. In a procession in Patna on March 9, 78 they idolized Karpoori Thakur and condemned J.P. who had been propagating the idea of an economic basis for reservation. Mr. Chandapuri even went to the extent of stating—"Jayaprakash Narayan's—encouragement of the upper castes for a movement—against reservation was unwise, illegal, immoral and undemocratic".8

All these followed processions and counter processions, attacks, closures, bandhs, marches and clashes, resulting in the entire administration coming to a near halt. Bandhs crippled Muzaffarpur, Chapra, Bhojpur, Katihar, Begusarai, Binarsharit and Jamui.9 All Universities and Colleges in Bihar were closed, intermediate examinations of different universities were postponed and various measures were taken to stop violence in the campus 10 But violence continued unabated. In a movement over 500 leaders and persons of backward classes courted arrest to press their points. To express their opposition to Thakur's policy angry youths created a rumpus at J. Ps Amrita Mahotsava function in Patna on March 12, 1976, threw stones, slippers at him and at Acharya J. B. Kripalani, abused Mr. Jagjivan Ram and attacked Mr. George Fernandes at Muzaffarpur.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST RESERVATION:

The so called "upper" castes were motivated by the fear that only the Ya-

days, Kurmis, Koeris, Banias and others, often described as the neo- rich class. would mainly be benefitted by the reservations. These castes are socially, economically and educationally better in many ways than even many of the so called "upper castes" and have been striving to take over power in the State. Brahmins of Madhubani district are mostly poor while most of the landowning castes in this district come from these four backward castes. Large numbers of domestic servants, cooks, pujaries, dishwashers in urban areas are Brahmins of Madhubani, Darbhanga and Vaishall district and belong to forward castes while their masters are of the backard classes. Under these circumstances does not reservation seem fantastic. unjustified and unethical? It is also argued that reservation should be a limited policy for how long will the so-called backwards remain backwards? Will they avail this facility for an indefinite period?

It is interesting to note that, of the 94 Janata M. L. A. s who belong to backward castes, 91 come from these four castes. All Cabinet Ministers, Minsters of State and Parliamentary Secretaries except one who come from backward classes, also belong to these four castes. Of the 216 gazetted officers belonging to backward castes, all except 7 belong to these four castes.

Another argument against the policy is that, already, 24% jobs are reserved for Scheculed Castes and Scheduled Tribes and 26/, job reservation would only leave 50% jobs selected on merit, which in the long run will adversely affect administrative efficiency.

Thus reservation should be based on reality, without any vested interest, without ill motives and had intentions. If our aim is to remove poverty and uplift the downtrodden and the needy, we should not discriminate on a caste and religious basis. What is wrong if economic criteria is made the sole consideration irrespective of castes and religion? Making "caste" main criteria of selection will, benefit only those persons or families or well-to-do class of people of so called "Backward classes" who are already benefitted. Formulating some income limitations and basing selection on an economical basis will only be theoritical but practically it will defeat. the main purpose of reservation.

Leaders and Government which lacks the ability to face urgent social and economic problems of upliftment and development, rake up spurious, anti-national and antisocial problems in order to hide their incapacity to govern.

The pro-reservationists argue that job reservation is meant only to impliment the pre-poll pledges of the Janata Party. They point out that socially and educationally backward classes deserve special treatment and that reservation of jobs for them would be a progressive and socialistic step.

### CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION:

Article 16 (1) of the Constitution says 'There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State'. However article 16 (4) lays down an exception to this rule. This

provision says "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services of the State".

But in the State of U. P, Vs. Pradip Tandon (A. I. R. 1975, S. C. 563) the Supreme Court has pointed out the difference between the expressions "backward class" and" backward caste". These are different words having different meanings. The Constitution uses the word "Class" not "Caste" (See A. I. R. 1964 S. C. 1823). Caste cannot be the sole criteria for reservation, though no doubt it can be one amongst several considerations. This view was reiterated in A. I. R. 1976, S. C. 2381.

What are the criteria for backwardness? No doubt the main, criteria is economic poverty, as held by the Supreme Court in M. R. Balaji Vs. State of Mysore A. I. R. 1968 S. C. 649, the State of A. P. Vs P. Sagar (A. I. R. 1963 S. C, 1379), Trilokinath Vs Jammu and Kashmir (A. I. R. 1969, S. C. I) and as reiterated in A. I. R. 1976 S. C. 2381. The purpose of reservation was said to be to help the weaker section of Society, but the castes mentioned as 2 "backward" both in U. P. and Bihar are not entirely poor.

As a matter of fact, 50%, people of all castes are very poor. Though it may be that amongst the Harijans about 95%, are very poor and 5% rich whereas amongst upper castes 75%, may be very poor and 25%, rich. But there are "backwards" in every caste. Hence reservation on castes

basis really defeats the purpose behind the policy of reservation, viz to help the poor.

In the State of Andhra Pradesh Vs. Balram (A. I. R. 1972 S. C. 1375) the Supreme Court has held that if an entire caste is found, after proper investigation, to be socially and educationally backward, reservation in it's favour will be valid. Since it is the ruling of a bench of only two Judges it cannot overide the decisions of larger benches which have held that "caste" and "class" are different expressions. Secondly, in reality there can rarely be any castes which are entirely backward, For example among S. C. and S. T. there are many persons who are Ministers, M. Ps. I. A. S. and P. C. S. officers etc. and whose , children the hesi яте getting education. Why should there be reservation in favour of such persons? Thirdly members of Commissions appointed are of the same caste as well of the same party in power, and are invariably biased in favour of the Government's pre-determined policy.

### COMMISSIONS:

- (1) Kaka Kalelkar Commission: In January 1953 the President of India appointed the "Backward areas Commission" under Article 341 headed by Kaka Kalelkar to determine the criteria for treating any section of people other than S. C. and S. T. as backward. The report of this Commission was rejected by the Government of India on the ground that it had applied vague tests.12
- (2) Chedilal Seth! Commission—Chedilal Sethi Commission appointed by the U. P. government (notification dated 12. 12. 76)

submitted its report on 17. 5. 77 recommending reservation for "backward castes' and mentioned that justice demands that "upper castes' should not be given a single government post for the next 10 years, to make up for the exploitation of "backwards' for thousand of years.12

(3) Mongerilal Commission; The Janata Party Government of Binar headed by Karpoori Thakur has decided to accept the classification of backward classes on the basis of castes and accept 128 castes enumerated as backward classes as recommended by the Mongerilal Commission.

The Commission has not understood the impact of the above court's decisions which is evident from observations of the commission "Inspite of the decision of the court confusion went on increasing and it has not been clear so far as to what "class was socially and educationally backward. It has neither been said that caste cannot be its basis nor has it been said that caste can be its basis."

Classification made on the basis of caste is contrary to the principles enshrined in the Constitution and explained by the Supreme Court which is evident from the Commissions observations, "It is difficult not to accept 'caste' as the basis of classification of backward classes." "To raise the issue of income would be confusing the issue and caste will have to be taken as the determining factor. The Commission believes that putting a lower income ceiling will help only the poorer sections of backward castes and the progress of backward castes would be hindered particularly in admission to Medical and Engineering Colleges. Hence, it would not be proper to apply

the test of economic backwardness". As during the last three or four census caste has not been enumerated, it is difficult to give correct figures of the population of various castes but on the basis of the answers to the questionnaires a rough estinate is being given'.

Hence it is obvious that the entire classification has been made on the basis of caste on the personal impression of the members of the Commission as stated by them in the reports which is contrary to the principles of the Indian Constitution. The Govt. of Bihar in accepting the classification is perpetrating a fraud on the Constitution and embarking upon a course of action which is wholly illegal and unjustified.

In fact the whole policy of reservation is politically motivated in an attempt to gain cheap popularity. It is against the interest of the nation and it can only be desired by those vested interests who wish to see people fighting against each other. It is also violation of Article 16 of the Indian Constitution.13

Announcement by Prime Morarji Desai, at a public meeting in Patna on October 24, 1978, that entire question of giving concessions to backward classes would be refered to a Committee was thought justified but simultaneous announcement of a new formula by Mr. Karpoori Thakur with consultation with Janata Party President Mr. Chandrashekhar, added fuel to the fire. Caste riots broke out and incidents of violence spread all Bihar. Border Security Forces and Central Reserve Police were deployed to meet the situation all over Bihar.

## REVISED JOB RESERVATION FORMULA

The Bihar Govt, was forced to shelve its proposal to reserve 26% jobs for backward castes because of widespread violence in March 1978. A "revised" scheme announced in October 31, 1978 envisaged reservation of jobs for backward castes (20:/.), economically backward people (3:/.) and women (3./.). According to Govt. notification based upon the Bihar Cabinet decision (November 3, 1978) of the 20% reservation of jobs, only 8% would be meant for such castes as mentioned in Annexure II of the Mungerilal Committee report in which four dominant (Yadavas, Kurmis, Koeries and Banias) are included. The rest of the 12 jobs would be reserved for the castes mentioned in Annexure I which include other than those four castes. All those whose family income exceeds Rs. 8000 a year would not be covered under the reservation of job formulá.

These modifications have annoyed the four dominant backward castes who have been solidly behind Mr. Thakur because the reservation to them would now be only 8% as against 26% in the March announcement. The maximum income limit Rs. 8000 has disqualified most of the persons of these castes. Even senior clerks in Govt. would not be able to take advantage of reservation as their incomes exceed Rs. 8000,

### **CONCLUSION:**

It is true that the Janata Party is committed, through it's Election Manifesto, to the reservation of job for backward classes even though it was necessary to have wide

The Janata consultations on the issue. Assembly Party and Party Organisation should have also discussed the matter threadbare before a decision was taken. A favourable climate should have been created by holding seminars and debates all over the State. The lawyers, teachers and student's union should have seriously debated the question. Success of reservation involves the delicate task of providing an acceptable compromise after weighing all relevant factors and assessing their impact upon the society. Any mistake may cause great barm. Now with the new formula, confrontation between "forward" and "backward" castes has become very sharp and Bihar is virtually divided into two factions on this issue.

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# SOME MYTHS, LEGENDS AND FOLK TALES OF THE SANTALS IN WEST BENGAL GOPI NATH SEN

Among the tribal population in West Bengal the Santals are in a majority because their total number is 13, 76, 980 according to the census report of 1971, the percentage being 54. 36% of the total tribal population. In West Bengal the total tribal number is 25, 32, 969. The Santals are mostly found in Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Tripura. They can speak their own language i. e. Santali and their respective regional languages. But their mode of thinking, literature, myths and legends are coming down from generation to generation. The Santals belong

to the Austro—Asiatic group of Austric speech family. According to G.A. Grierason their present dialect is derived from the old Kherwari language. There is close linguistic relation among the other Mundari speaking groups like Hos, Mundas and Bhumij. There is a myth of their origin which is common with these tribes. They all believe that their creator is Thakur Jiu. The genesis of the Santals is told by their preceptor Kolean Guru from whom Rev. Skrefsrud took down the details in 1887. Its name is "Horkoren Mare Hapramko reak" Katha which is

"the first Santali Myths and Legends". It is written in Roman Script in the Santali language. It was translated by P. O. Boding in 1942 in the name "Traditions and Institutions of the Santals in English language". In 1982 Ramdas Manihi wrote a book on Kherwal Bamsa Dharam Puthi". Among the English writers who collected Santal Folk Tales are P. O. Bodding who wrote "The Santal Folk Tales" from 1925 to 1929 in three Volumes, A Campbell who wrote "Santal Folk Tales" in 1891, and C. H. Bompas who had written" Folklore of the Santal Parganas" in 1909. There are numerous stories of the Santal Genesis which were elaborated by the Santal Kolean Guru. Also the myths which are most popular among the Santals are related to their name giving ceremony. Funeral ceremony and other such functions. It would be feasible to give a few examples from such myths.

"Narta or name giving ceremony" Era. Goswami Era who had been established in the villages as previously promised by the hunters, called on other Gods to come for the conference. The Gods sat under the Sariori Tree. Thakuriiu sat under the "Margodari" tree and Marang Buru sat under the Karkat tree. Even now if the Margadari tree is cut it bleeds. The hunters sat under the Matkam tree. The first question the hunters asked was what should we do when the baby is born?" The Gods answered, "The baby is born because of its sin committed during its previous birth. Sometning must be done to absolve it, on either the fifth or third day of its birth, according to the sex male or female respectively. You prepare a concoction of 'atap' rice and neem leaves boiled in fire. Prepare three cakes with

pounded rice and observe the 'Neem Dek Mandi' ceremony. Plenty of handi should be prepared also after the birth of the child, the cord will be cut by the 'dai' or midwife with the child's father's arrow.

For this ceremony all the villagers, men and women are to be invited and all the women including the dai must bathe in a river or pond. The dai must throw mustard on the water in the name of the boy. Then they come back after bathing, the dai has to throw the three cakes on the roof of the house. The dai then mixes some powdered rice with water and then names the baby. The baby's name is to be decided by the father. The dai should make her obeisance to all present and utter the name of the boy. Then all must be served with the 'Neem Dek mandi', the concoction of the neem leaves and rice boiled together. If you do not observe this, you will be expelled from the caste. No one will use your fire or water.

It is seen that animals played a prominent role in the Santal myths and tales. There are numerous stories which are sprightly, witty, emotional and pitiful. They have shown the same feeling between men and animals as well as birds. It evokes the moral characteristics of birds and beasts. There such myths, legends and folklore are coming down from generation to generation. The study of the myths and folklore provide a reliable pointer to the mentality as well as the social mileau of the people. A glance through these stories will show that they are somewhat akin to the folktales of other peoples. It may be that human beings, wherever they are have the same needs and desires. It is only according to their environment that they put on suitable

garbs, thereby highlighting their own social structures, mores and traditions.

There are two great exponents in Saniali Folklore Cecil Henry Bompas and P. O. Bodding. From their writings I give below a few examples which would be helpful for our scholars to understand the Sanial's Genesis and their cultural heritage.

### (a) THE FAITHFUL COW:

When Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Buri, the first human couple on the earth, were hatched from duck's eggs, the earth was still very moist. Inspite of the fact that many trees and shrubs had been planted to make it dry and solid, it was wet. So Thakur Jiu, the supreme being thought that he must send fire from heaven to dry it. He conferred with other Gods and all agreed that on a certain day, heaven would pour fire for five days and five nights.

The cow used to roam about grazing all over the fields. One day as it was wandering inadvertently, she stumbled over the home of the ant and destroyed it. The ant was very angry and said "Why have you destroyed my home? Don't you know that I have to work hard to make a deep hole in the ground". The cow asked "What is the matter? Why do you have to make a deep hole?" The ant replied, "Don's you know that fire is coming down soon? So I am making a deep hole to hide myself?"

On Friday morning the day fixed for bringing down fire on earth, Pilchu Haram was ploughing. When the sun became very hot, Pilchu Buri brought some rice and

Pilchu Haram told her water for him. that it was very warm under the sun so he would sit in the shade of a tree for a while. Hearing this, the cow burst out laughing and said to the bullock. "They do not know that fire is coming. They are afraid of the sun shine." At the sound of the laughter. Pilchu Haram looked round and saw the cow laughing. He asked her "Why are you laughing? What is the joke"? The cow said "No one has bothered to tell you. Why should I do it?" Pilchu Haram coaxed her. The cow thought, "These are good They allow me to graze over their people. fields. I ought to be faithful to them." She said aloud, "Eat your meal quickly and pack your things. You must fly at once from here. Fire is coming down."

Pilchu Haram gobbled down his food and stacked some food and hay on the bullock's back. He took hold of the bullock's tail and Pilchu Buri took hold of the cow's tail and fled towards the forest. The cow led them through the deep forest to a deep tunnel. As soon as they entered the tunnel fire descended from heaven. It poured down in torrents. Everything caught fire. Fire poured down for five days and five nights. All the earth was destroyed. All living things were burnt to death except Pilchu Haram, Pilchu Buri, the cow and the bullock. Thakur Jiu had sent fire to dry up the earth and it became dry.

When Thakur Jiu saw the devastation caused by fire, he began to lament, especially he mourned for Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Buri. He blamed Marang Buru, his servent, for not informing the couple about the fire and he asked Marang Buru to find out their plight. After a long search, Marang Buru found them in a junnel. He informd Tha-

kur Jiu about this. Thakur Jiu was verv glad and he visited them. He asked them to come out of the tunnel as the danger was When they emerged from the tunnel Thakur Jiu asked "How did you know that. fire was coming down because Marang Buru failed to inform you? Who has saved you?" Pilchu Haram replied "Thakur Jiu, it is the cow who had told us and thus has saved our life." Thakur Jiu was very pleased with the cow and said. "I see the cow is very faithful to you. You must always keep her and take care of her. She will, help you in ploughing the fields. You must not milk her as it gives her pain". This is why the Santals never used to drink milk.

### (b) THE OJHA AND THE BEAR

Once upon a time human beings used to live side by side with the bears in dense forests. The bears had great respect for human beings and often came to them for advice and help.

There was a great Ojha in the forest of the Chalthi Hills who had a very vicious and bad tempered wife. They had a son named Bhikhu who was suffering from eyedisease. Gradually he was going blind. The wife of the Ojha told her husband, "You are a great Ojha, why can't you do something for your son?" The Ojha said, "What can I do? If I can only procure two live eyes, I can change the eyes of my son. But how it is possible to get eyes from anyone?"

Next morning a big bear came to him for medicine for his cub who was suffering from terrible head-ache and fever. The Ojha gave him some medicines and told him to report next morning. When the bear had gone the Ojha's wife said, 'Oh, what an opportunity, you can take away the eyes of the cub through your medicine." The Ojha was horrified at the very idea. The Ojha's wife said, "What a cruel father you are, you won's lift a finger to save your son's eyes." And she went on scolding and nagging him until he agreed.

Next day, when the bear came the Ojha accompanied him up to his house to see the cub. The Ojha ordered the bear to leave him alone with the cub, so that he could utter mantras over the cub. In good faith, the bear left the room. The Ojha softly passed his right palm over the eyes of the cub, took away the eye-balls closed the lids firmly and put him to sleep so that the bear would not notice anything was amiss. The Ojha came out and ordered him not to wake his son until the next morning.

The Ojha returned home and fitted the cub's eyes into the eye sockets of his son. Bhikhu could see agein. The same night they ran away because when the bear would know what had happened to his son, he would surely kill them.

Meanwhile in the afternoon, the bear's wife noticed a few drops of blood oozing from the eye-lids of the cub. She opend his eye-lids and gave a started shriek. There were no eye-balls inside'. The bear rushed in to see what the matter was. Seeing the condition of his son, he ran to the house of the Ojha to inform him of the terrible plight of his son.

As he came near the Ojha's home, he heard the Ojha's wife boasting, "How clever



I am. It is I who told you to get that cub's eyes for my Bhikhu. Look, how he is running about and playing. How happy he is."

The bear stopped rooted to the spot. The whole heinious plot was clear to him and he began to shake and blubber in his great anger. He ran inside the house, stood upright confronting the guilty pair and tried to utter the words of vengeance. But he was so angry, he could only emit bellowing sounds and with those a great quantity of saliva shot out and sprayed the faces of the Ojha and his wife. They cried out in terrible pain, such was the venom of the saliva which touched them. Next instant, the bear rushed to them and tore away their eyes and thundered, "We trusted you and you have betrayed us.

"Henceforth, we will be the greatest enemy of the human beings. Be sure, we will snatch your eyes and make you blind just as you have done to my son." The bear then rushed away from the house. Since then human beings go in fear of bears. The first thing the bears aim at are human eyes.

### (e) HOW THE SANTALS ARE SCAT-TERED IN DIFFERENT PLACES.

Human beings reside in the forests of Champa Garh and have multiplied in large numbers. Mando Kishu, who was the King brought an unmarried girl to do his household work. She became pregnant and gave birth to a male child secretly in the deep forest of Kari Kamli. As she went out to collect wood, she nursed him. No one knew she had a child.

The villagers used to bring mat'ot' (a kind of mushroom, from the jungle every day. It made a delicious dish. One day they went to the Kari Kamli forest so that girl could not go there to nurse the child. He became hungry and began to cry. The villagers said. "Who is that trying tofrighten us? Let's go and see." They went and found a very handsome boy. that day, the King's daughter, Lilo, happened to be with them. Her arms were full of mat'ot' which she threw away and took the child in her arms and announced her decision to take him home. The villagers asked her "But how will you take both the child and mat'ot'? She answered" I will get plenty of mat'ot' but I won't get a child again." So Lilo took him home. The King asked her to bring the child to him. The villagers said, "He looks very much like you. As your daughter has adopted him, he is your grandchild. So name him Man'do Sin." Mando Sin grew up to be very strong and clever. He was an expert lathi (stick) and sword player. He was given much power by the king. He used to collect revenue and rule the villagers. Man'do Sin wanted to marry and asked the King to select a bride for him. The King gathered the villagers and asked, \*My boy wants to marry. Who will give him a daughter? The villagers remarked "We know nothing about his parent or his peris (caste). How can we give him our daughter?" You have brought him up and you have a younger daughter'. You give him your daughter if you like. We can't do The King said, "I too can't do it."

When Mando Sin heard about it, he became furious. He said,' I'll marry my mother or aunt and rape all the girls of the

village." Every one became very frightened and decided to fiee. The villagers made thirteen bullock carts of exactly the same shape and size and at night all including the King, fied from Champa Garh.

Mando Sin lived in the King's palace. In the morning he found the house empty. He went out but found no one in the village. He saw the wheel marks of thirteen carts and followed them some distance and then lost them. Mando Sin offered puja to Singhbohani bonga so that the main door and the left door of the fort shut firmly and no one could escape. So God Singhbohani went and stood before the doors. The villagers got frightened as they would be caught by Mando Sin. In despair, they offered prayer to the Gods Kotunaran and Bhuluabijay. Kotunaran bonga with his katu (axe) split open the doors and Bhaluabijay gave them assurance that Mando Sin would not catch them. So the thirteen carts passed. Mando Sin came to the main door but saw no one. He prayed to Banadhari bonga to inflict the bullocks drawing the carts with sore hooves. All the bullocks were afflicted and could not draw the carts. The people were in great difficulty. There was one man called Bikhu Hasdak who prayed to Biswali bonga to save them. The bullocks became all right. So they proceeded.

Mando Sin prayed to Habakraja and Dabakraja to overflow the river Sangara so that his subjects could not escape. Again they were held up. One man named Samu Hembram offered puja to Deyara bonga to dry up the rivers. The rivers dried up and all of them crossed easily. Mando Sin followed them to the rivers. Marang buru came to him and said "What are you searching

for ? I have seen them so don't search any more. The thirteen carts went to the village Chitri hurur and built houses there". Marang Buru told them to perform Bandana Parab on Sunday. He informed Mando Sin that he would take him to them on Sunday.

The people brewed handi for the festival. According to the direction given by Marang Buru, they sacrified cow, goat and cock to the various gods and one pig for Marang Buru. Then they worshipped handi. They ate half of the flesh and the other half they tied to the thirteen huts.

They went on drinking handi and dancing,

The girls sang,

Champa Garh, Champa Garh. Garh Champa Garh. Iore Mando Sin Bibbali Garh Champa Garh.

(Mando Sin has driven us from Champa Garh) Bikhu Hasdak said "Don't sing that otherwise Mando Sin will come." He taught them another song.

"Kiya raja hakayete kiya raja dakayete lore raja hi bang Darel sing ra raj bando"

(King Danel Singh King of Pang Chetgarh is sitting on a mountain. He is calling out to them to become his subjects).

As the girls were singing Marang Buru brought Mando Sin there.

They stood behind a tree. Marang Buru asked him" Are these your people?"

Mando Sin said "No, my people do not eat flesh" And he went away quietly.

The girls could not forget Champa
Garh. They went on enjoying and Singing.
"Dadare Indan sing Madam Sing
Dadare Ghutlem Chat Champa Garh
My Brother,"
The boys sang.
"Bahinge na kando na khinjo
Bahinge hatka sakha bincho
Bahinge Kaneko sona bincho
Bahinge tahona lebo Champagarh"

"Don't cry sisters we will sell the Sakha of your wrists and the gold ring of your ears and then we may take back Champa Garh."

The Bandhna Parab lasted for four days. As they were singing Bikha Hardak's cow broke away and ran away. The boys and girls thought they should search for it. So they, scattered themselves to different places and did not come tack. That is why the Santals are found in many lands:

### THE COW BOY AND THE MONKEY

One day, a cow boy was wandering through the fields, playing his flute merrily. Suddenly, he saw a tiger groaning under the weight of a boulder. The tiger called him and said, "Please sir, will you be merciful and release me from my pain." The boy said "No, I will not, I know as soon as I free you, you will eat me." The tiger said, "I give my word, I will not eat you. If you release me, I will give you a nice fat deer." After lots of persuasion, the cow boy pus-

hed the boulder and freed the tiger. As soon as the tiger was free, he got up and stretched his limbs and saw no bones were broken. He then turned to the cow-boy and said. "Now my boy, I am hungry, I am going to eat you." "The cow boy said "What manner of talk is this? I have released you and you are ungrateful." The tiger replied' You were foolish to listen to my praver. I am going to eat you as sure as anything." The cow-boy saw there was no way out and he thought of temporising. told the tiger, "I think what you are doing is very wrong. Anyway let us ask three witnesses what they think of them. If all of them agree you are right, you will surely eat me."

The cow-boy asked the Mango tree under which they were standing what was its opinion. The mango tree shook its branches and answered. "Yes, the tiger is right. He should eat you. We get the same treatment from human beings. We give them shade and fruits and in return they cut off our branches and injure us."

The cow boy next asked the pond in front of them. The pond said "I agree with the mango tree, you taught us to return evil for good. Without water you cannot live but still you make it dirty by washing filthy clothes."

In despair the boy turned to the last witness, a monkey who was sitting high up on the branches of a sal tree and asked what he had to say about this. The monkey said 'I am a little deaf. I cannot hear properly what you are saying. Please come up to me and tell me what you want." The boy climbed up the branches and started telling him about the tiger. The monkey said 'you fool, can't you see you are safe now? The

tiger cannot catch you. You shout for help". The cow-boy shouted and shouted with all his might. The villagers heard his call of distress. They all rushed there and chased the tiger away.

### THE TREACHEROUS RAT

IN bygone days a big greedy rat used to live near the village. He could find lots of food in the forest but he preferred to steal the grain from the villagers. The villagers were prosperous and did not notice anything.

After a few years, the draught came and the villagers noticed their stock of grain, and the villagers noticed their stock of grain was diminishing. They tried to catch the thief but failed to do so. So they thought that they would build a strong store house and keep all their grain there.

They started to construct a store house. The rat came to them and said, "What are you people doing?"

The villagers answered, "A thief is stealing our grain. So we are making a strong store house".

The rat said, "Let me help you, I know where to get strong bamboos and I can dig up earth very swiftly". The villagers were glad for his help.

The rat was very active and worked all day, The villagers praised him. But the rat was upto its own game. He made a small hole in the foundation which he covered with shingles. When the store was constructed it was a fine, strong thing. The villagers were very glad and they gave him five pie measures of the grains as a reward. Then they put all their grains in the store house and felt safe.

Every night, the Rat used to get inside the store room through the holes and eat to its heart's content. Gradually the stock diminished. The villagers wondered how a thief could steal from such a strong room. They set watchers all through the night but they could not catch any one because the rat himself was one of the watchers.

The villagers thought of offering puja to the village bonga so that the thief might be caught. They gave a big feast to which they invited the rat also. The rat came and drank a lot. He then entered the grain store and ate and ate until he was ready to burst with food. He then tried to get out through the hole. But he was so swallen up that he could not pass through the hole. He was caught then.

In the morning when the villagers opened the grain store they saw the rat caught in the hole. They were astonished and exclaimed. Oh, so you are the thief. Now we know why the grain was disappeas ring without the thief being caught. Now we will punish you by burning you alive-the fit reward for your treachery." The boys of the village poured mustard oil on him, put him in between two big leaves and pinned him down with a stone. Then they set him on fire. The rat was burnt to death. When the two leaves were removed a nice, tasty smell came floating out. The rat's belly had burst and both the rat's ...esh and the grain had become mixed and nicely roasted The boys tasted the Khichri and found it delicious. So the whole village set up trapt to catch rats and all had a nice feast.

The Santali Folktales are similar to the stories of the Panchantra and the Hitopodesha. Each Folk tale has got its own merit and adage. Some of their Folk tales are humorous, witty and educative. The Folk tales will always be helpful for all and are similar to Thesaurus for both tribal and non-tribabal peoples.

### PASSE-T-ELLE POEMES DE MARKO RISTIC

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C'est lá que finit
Le revolver
Et que commence
D'en haut
Ce qui devore
Et ce qui est devore

Le reve le vol et le vert Le révolver There ends
The revolver
And there begins
From high up
The devourer
And the devoured

The dream the flight and the green
The revolver

# ASOKA-A MAN OF PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE Dr. BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

Miss Barbara Ward, a well known British economist and writer, states; "The greatest periods of human history are periods of moral excellence rather than periods of military grandeur".

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This is exemplified by the 3rd Century B. C. Buddhist Emperor of India. He not only built the Golden era of India, but one of the greatest periods of world history.

The late H. G. Wells writes of him in his Outlines of World History: "Amidst the tens and thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the colums of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and Royal Highnesses and the like the name of Asoka shines and shines almost like a star. From the Volga to Japan, his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, Sri Lanka, South east Asia, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the traditions of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than ever heard the names of Constantine and Charlemagne".

The history of his reign is based mostly on the Chronicles of Sri Lanka, particularly 'Mahawansa', and his own edicts and inscriptions, about 70 of them, stand to this day in Afghanistan, but mostly in various parts

of India. His domains extended all the way from Afghanistan to Madras in South India. They stand to this day as an immortal monument to his greatness.

But how did Asoka become so famous in history? Did he ever send, after the notorious Kalinga war, mercenaries, armies, warships and the like, to humiliate, massacre, and to conquer other lands?

Oh no!, he sent humble men and women, heads shaven, imbibed with loving kindness, wearing a yellow robe each, and carrying only an extra robe and a begging bowl to seek food. They had thus renounced all wealth, power and glory to serve fellow men, and they carried the compassionate message of the Buddha.

Wherever they went, they created new civilizations, Anchor Vat in Cambodia; Pagan in Burma; Borodur in Indonesia; Dvarvarate in Thailand; and Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka. These were creative centres of learning, art, and Town planning. In the field of the visual art, master pieces of scupture and paintings are found which are treasures that command the awe and admiration of mankind.

Asoka forbade animal sacrifices in his

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Empire. He replaced royal tours of pleasure and hunting with pious duties to his people. He worked unceasingly for the moral, social and economic welfare of his people.

According to Mahawansa, the great chronicle of Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Asoka became an Upasaka (taking vows of chastity) in the ninth year of his reign. His edicts depict him as growing in piety as the years passed by. He synchronized his internal administration and foreign policy to spread the Buddha Dharma. Again it is stated in the Mahawansa, that in the 11th year of his reign he became a full fledged Buddhist mork.

The edict P E. IV Delhi, indicates that Asoka enunciated a paternal form of Government. It states "as far as one feels confidence after having entrusted his child to an intel igent nurse, thinking the intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well, so were officers appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of my people".

GAll the people are my children and as I desire for my children that they obtain every kind of welfare so do I desire my people may obtain every kind of welfare both in this world and the next."

Thus Asoka based his Government on personal example and his royal duties were based on love and paternal affection.

A oka built hospitals for both man and beast. Physicians and surgeons were provided in the various parts of the state. He established special gardens for the growth of medical herbs and manufactured drugs.

In P. E. VII Asoka states: "I have had

trees planted along roads to give shade to men and animals. I have established public wells, erected rest houses for the pilgrims and travellers".

In the first year of his regin — that is, towards the middle of his life—Asoka decided upon the annexation of the few remaining outlying states. He started the conquest of Kalinga (Orissa), but after a victorious war, was overcome with remorse.

The cruelties and horrors of war disgusted him. Rock Edict XIII contains a personal confession of his remorse at the sight of the suffering and carnage that the war involved.

Asoka therefore gave up war and developed a pacific attitude—a humane one. One day, casually gazing out of the window of the palace, he saw a dignified Buddhist monk, and invited him to the palace, whereupon the monk delivered a short but instructive discourse based on the following verse of the Dhammapada:

"Heedfulness is the path to deathlessness. Heedlessness is the path to death. The heedful do not die, the heedless ones are like unto the dead".

These words of the Buddha impressed Asoka and gripped his mind, and he became a Buddhist. Thereafter he chose Dharma Vijaya — conquest by righteousness as his way of life.

With ceaseless energy he worked for the dissemination of the Dharma and he is responsible for transmitting Buddhism from a small sectarian religion of India into one of the greatest religions of the world. Through his edicts he brought to the knowledge of his countrymen the simpler and practical aspects of Buddhism that eventually moulded the life and thought of a vast segment of makind.

Missionary zeal inspired him to spread the word of the Buddha throughout his land and bordering states peacefully. He used the Buddha's principles of ethics as a tremendous new weapon.

Thus, with the spread of Buddhist morality, he gained more power and influence both among his subjects and neighbouring states. He carefully cultivated two of the golden principles of Buddhism viz ahimsa (non-violence) and compassion.

In that same year he organized missionary activities to foreign lands. He is believed to have sent missionaries and diplomats to Greece, Persia, China and Sri Lanka. He sent his own son and daughter, Mahinda and Sanghamitta, to Sri Lanka for missionary, work.

Mahinda converted the King of Sri Lanka, Tissa, to Buddhism at Anuradhapura in north central Sri Lanka, and he adopted Buddhism as the state religion of Sri Lanka. In the third century B. D., Sinhalese civilization blossomed into its golden age.

Sanghamitta, who arrived in Sri Lanka later, brought a sapling of the Bodhi tree (Ficus religiosa) under which Gautama attained Buddhahood. This tree grows to this day at Anuradhapura, the ancient capital of Sri Lanka - known as the oldest historical tree in the world, the parent tree having died. It is said to have been

planted in Sri Lanka in 254 B. C.

Asoka's missionary zeal is responsible for the spread of Buddhism from Sri Lanka (Ceylon) to Southeast Asia. The form of Buddhism that was introduced to Sri Lanka was of the Theravada (School of the Elders).

This form of Buddhism exists in Burma Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, besides Sri Lanka, and the people of these lands venerate Asoka and his children. Theravada Buddhism may have started penetrating China by then, though according to available historical evidence this took place many centuries after the death of Asoka, and in the Mahayana form.

Asoka also established educational institutions for his people. These were in his time mostly attached to monasteries, where medical, philosophical and religious education was imparted.

After the death of Asoka, a fair number of these institutions became universal centres of learning, known today as universities. Some of these universities, including Nalanda and Vikramasila, had over 10,000 students, who were given free board and education. The universities were however destroyed during the toreign invasions of India in the 12th centry A. D.

Asoka convened the Third Buddhist Council at Pataliputra to preserve Buddha Dharma in its pristine purity and to discourage doctrinal controversy.

He carefully cultivated the golden principle of Buddhism, which is tolerance. As

a Buddhist he was tolerant of other religions. One of his edicts, R. A. 1I, says:

"All religions deserve reverence for some reason or other. By thus acting a man exalts his own religion, and at the same time does service to the religion of other people."

It is recorded in Sri Lankan chronicles that Asoka built over 84,000 temples that were also institutions of learning, throughout India and Nepal.

He was also a great builder. When the famous Chinese pilgrim Fahsien visited Pataliputra in the fifth century A. D. he was said to have been wonderstruck by the sheer beauty of Asoka's palace and the original Buddha Gaya temple at Gaya, which is no longer in existence.

The Sanchi Stupa enshrining the relics of the Buddha's chief disciples, Sariputta and Maha Moggalana, stands to this day, a piece of delightful architectural and sculptural beauty, and the Asoka lion emblem and Sanchi are masterpieces of art.

The new India has not forgotten Asoka's contributions to her former greatness as acclaimed by Western and Eastern ideologists. It has accepted the 4 Lion symbol of his capital as its state Symbol, and the Buddha's Asokan wheel of life is printed on its National Flag; and above all, the Pancha Sila-Buddha's Five Precepts, loved and practised by Asoka, have been taken as a guide to her foreign policy.



# PASSE-T-ELLE POEMES DE MARKO RISTIC

III

J'ai demande a Paris
Ce qu'il avait a me dire
Et il m'a repondu
En sourd-muet qui savait tout dire
Puisque c'etait moi qui parlait
Moi seul qui parlait
Au fin fond de cette nuit de Paris
De cette nuit de pari avec le destin

Forme disante distribuante Signifiante et aberrante Sous-sol du sens Structure au-delá du colloidal Sensible promontoire

Pour mesurer l'essor

De l'Incomprehensible

De l'Impossible

III

I asked what Paris
Had to say to me
And the answer came
As from a deaf-mute who has full
speech
Since it was I who spoke
Only I who spoke
In the very depths of night in Paris
This night of gamble with destiny

Defining designing form
Significant and aberrant
Substratum of the senses
Structure beyond the colloidal
Sensitive promontory

To measure the flight
Of the incomprehensible
Of the Impossible

### Current Affairs

### PHARMACEUTICAL MONOPOLIES IN THE THIRD WORLD: FURTHERING PROFITS, IGNORING HUMAN HEALTH

Since ancient times diseases have plagued mankind, causing a lot of suffering and misfortunes. Ironically, human illness is a source of immense profits, as the Third World alone annually spends 17 billion dollars on medicines which it has to import from about 100 multinationals which dominate the world drug market. According to recent research conducted by the World Health Organisation (WHO), of every 3,000 medicines sold by pharmaceutical monopolies to the developing countries only 200 are or good qualty.

Some medicines banned in the West are shipped on a mass scale to Asian, African and Latin American countries.

In her book "Bitter Pills: Medicines and the Third World Poor" Diana Melrose claimed that multinationals were selling the Third World a large amount of vitamins and tonics, passing these off as universally effective substances against all kinds of diseases, Not infrequently strong medicines are provided with instructions misrepresenting the effects of the drug. Several US phermaceutical companies have exported to Bangladesh some anabolic steroids to be used for treatment of rare bone diseases, but

advertised as a "wonder-working medicine" for those suffering from malnutrition, loss of weight, emaciation and apathy. Thousands of people who used the drug have developed irreversible hormone malfunctions. Medical experts who attempted to study the consequences of using the above "medicine" were horrified.

"Drug salesmen," said the London--based Economist, "have exploited monopoly power and the absence of regulations to charge some Third World countries outrageous prices for medicines." Attempts to curb the multinationals' uncontrolled activities have rarely induced anything but international blackmail by the monopolies. During the 70s the government of Sri Lanka set up a state company to import some of the drugs used in the country. As a result, domestic prices for medicines dropped, so that the country could spend 40 per cent less money on the most vital drugs. However, in 1977 the company collapsed, as it was extensively boycotted by the multinationals. Oxfam Phizer, for one, halted the deliveries of cheap drugs to Sri Lanka when an epide= mic of cholera hit the island. "Few countries," the Economist said, "have dared to follow Sri Lanka's example and tackle the private market because of fears of reprisals from the big drug companies."

Nor could the developing countries reconcile themselves to the Western diktat.

At the initiative of Venezuela, Group-77 has proposed at the United Nations that the countries in which multinationals produce chemical and pharmaceutical products whose sales are banned or strictly limited within those same countries should pass laws according to which they must inform the rest of the world about the intention of their companies to export the banned or limited products. The above proposal was endorsed by the UN General Assembly by a majority vote of 146 to 1... Moreover ... after Reagan's coming to power all the limitations on exports of chemical and pharmaceutical goods that had existed before were lifted. There is still no rule that bans the export of such goods from Britain, France and Switzerland-the three major drug suppliers to the Third World. Considering that the Third World imports 80 per cent of the drugs it consumes, the situation is really horrifying.

Western monopolies seem to ignore utterly the fact that, as the Economist put it. "diseases in the poor world are markedly different from those in the rich world, so different medicines are often needed." 1977-1980 14 major Western pharmaceutical companies spent only 126 million dollars on the development of drugs to treat tropical diseases. It is quite a negligent sum, as the profits accrued by any of these companies from the sales of just one new drug in the Third World are much higher. Meanwhile, "there are no drugs at all" to care 32 diseases observed only in the developing countrise. "The free market," said the Economist, "cannot alone properly direct resources to these needs, because the demand for drugs as expressed by disease differs from the demand expressed by money.".

The World Health Organisation has

tried, so far unsuccessfully, to cope with the treatment of malaria from which about 200 million suffer in the developing countries. Although during the past few years the number of patients suffering from that disease has been growing, no new drugs to cure it have been developed. Prof. Ruth Nussenzweig of New York University has invented a vaccine to combat malaria. However, its production has been postponed for an indefinite period: its possible producer. Genentech of California. has advanced conditions unacceptable to the WHO. same thing has been happening to the production of vaccines to cure the most wide--spread infantile disease causing a third of children's deaths in the developing count Although WHO experts have proved that a dose of vaccine to prevent poliomyelitis costs only two cents it is sold by multinationals at a price many times higher then its cost price. As we can see, monc polies stop at nothing to boost their profits. According to Dr. Ralph Henderson of the World Health Organisation, the program for immunising all children in the Third World would cost 300 million dollars, including administrative outlays, which is nothing as compared to the multinationals' profits.

Repeatedly urged by the WHO, some time ago ten leading American pharmaceutical companies provided, with a lot of publicity, 10,000 dollars (!) for aid to the developing countries. Meanwhile, according to UN estimates, in many Asian and Latin American nations up to 70 per cent of their populations have no access to the simplest forms of medical aid.

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THE SOVIET UNION'S PROPOSALS
ON MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT

(TASS): Being concerned over the remaining explosive situation in the Middle East, the Soviet Union is profoundly convinced that the vital interests of the peoples of that region, and likewise the interests of international security as a whole, urgently dictate the need for the speediest attainment of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict.

It is likewise firmly convinced that such a comprehensive, lasting settlement can be drawn up and implemented only through collective efforts with the participation of all sides concerned.

Proceeding from this and wishing to contribute to establishing peace in the Middle East, it puts forward the following proposals on the principles of Middle East set lement and ways towards reaching it.

### Principles of Middle East settlement:

- 1. The Principle of inadmissibility of capture of foreign lands through aggression should be strictly observed. Accordingly, all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967 -- the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan rivor and Gaza sector, the Lebanese lands should be returned to the Arabs. The settlements established by Israel in the Arab territories after 1967 should be dismantled. The borders between Israel and its Arab neighbours should be declared inviolable.
- 2. Implementation in practice should be ensured of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people, to self-determination, to creating its own independent state

on the Palestinian lands, which will be freed from the Israeli occupation -- on the West Bank of the Jordan river and the Gaza sector. As is envisaged by the decision of the general Arab Meeting at Summit level in Fez and with the consent of the Palestinians themselves, the West Bank of the Jordan river and the Gaza sector can be turned over by Israel under the control of the United Nations Organization for a short transition period of not more than several months.

After the creation of an independent Palestinian state, it will, naturally, itself, by virtue of the sovereign rights inherent in every state, determine the character of its relations with the neighbour countries, including the possibility of forming a confederation.

The Palestinian refugees should be granted the opportunity envisaged by the UN decisions to return to their homes or receive appropriate compensation for the property left behind by them.

- 3. The Eastern part of Jerusalem, which was occupied by Israel in 1967 and which is the site of the main Muslim shrines, should be returned to the Arabs and become an inalienable part of the Palestinian state. The freedom of access of believers to the sacred shrines of the three religions should be ensured all over Jerusalem.
- 4. The right of all states in that area to secure an independent existence and development should be really ensured, certainly, with the observance of full reciprocity, as the genuine security of some

people cannot be ensured through flouting the security of others.

- 5. An end should be put to the state of war and peace be established between the Arab states and Israel. This means that all the sides to the conflict, including Israel and the Palestinian state, should commit themselves to honour mutually the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of each other, to resolve arising disputes through peaceful means, through talks.
- 6. International settlement guarantees should be drawn up and adopted, the role of the guarantor could be assumed, for example, by the permanent members of the UN Security Council or the Security Council as a whole. The Soviet Union is ready to participate in such guarantees.

Ways towards reaching settlement:

Experience has most convincingly demonstrated the futility and at the same time the danger of the attempts at resolving the Middle East problem through forcing on the Arabs all sorts of separate deals with Israel.

The sole right and effective way towards ensuring a radical solution to the Middle East problem is that of collective efforts by all the sides concerned, in other words, talks within the framework of an international conference on the Middle East specially convened with that aim....

The USSR and the USA should also be participants in the conference as they play, by force of circumstances, an important role in the Middle East affairs and were Co-Chairmen of the preceding conference on the Middle East.

Some other states of the Middle East and of the areas adjoining it, capable of making a positive contribution to the settlement of the Middle East problem could be included into the number of participants in the conference with general consent.

Procedure of the conference:

Like the preceding one, a new conference on the Middle East should be held under the aegis of the United Nations Organization.

The main form of work of the conference could be working groups (commissions) created from among representatives of all the participants in the conference to examine key issues of settlement (withdrawal of Israeli troops and the boider line; the Palestinian problem, the question of Jerusalem; an end to the state of war and establishment of peace; the problem of security of the states, which participated in the conflict; international guarantees for the observance of the agreements, etc)...

Guided by the aim of establishing a just and lasting peace in the Micule East and eliminating the explosive situation in that area, the Soviet Union appeals to all the sides in the conflict to act proceeding from a sober assessment of each other's legitimate rights and interests while all other states should not hamper, but contribute to a quest for such a settlement

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### THE THIRD CROSS

In the wake of economic and social change in the Third World, a tale of privation and misery unfolds -- that of abandonic d wives, widows, divorcees and single mathers struggling against overwhelming ocids to bring up children and earn a living for the family.

Now a new ILO study sounds a warning for policy makers and development planners to come to grips with the predicament of these women. To rely on the "trickle down" effect of overall strategies is simply not good enough. The time has come to take explicit measures, it holds.

Underscoring the urgency of the need for fresh action are the following major con iderations:

Available data indicates that in many developing countries three in every ten housholds are headed by women. But this is most likely a very conservative estimate.

The cards are stacked against women as economic beings for a variety of reasons ranging from patriarchal social structures to bits in access to education, training, credit, technologies and productive resou ces.

Most women - headed households fall, by all standards, below the poverty line and a disproportionate share of poor households are dependent on women. Childen are particularly affected and they risk following the stunted, marginal life of their mothers.

### FOCUS ON RURAL AREAS

Tme ILO study focuses on female family providers in rural areas facing

particular difficulties and hardships.

Most of woman—headed households in sub Saharan Africa, in some Asian countries and about half in Latin America are rural. A less clear picture emerges in the case of Asia, North Africa and the Middle East.

Family units ranging in size from two to four persons seem to represent the majority of woman—headed households in the Third world, according to the study.

It adds that this phenomenon appears to be "closely linked to processes of economic modernisation, internal and international migration, the mechanisation of agriculture and the resulting surpluses of labour, and the existence of a system of wage labour."

### ABANDONED WIVES

The transition from traditional to modern farming as well as substitution of manufactured goods for local products tend to aggravate unemployment among men who 'may become unable to assume financial responsibility tor their families and abandon them, leaving women to assume the family's economic," the study says. The low status and earnings from jobs available to men in the countryside can have similar consequences.

However, the most powerful determinant of the emergence of women-headed households is migration for employment. Male absence from home weakens family bonds and, in certain instances, allows the man to feel less responsible for the family. This, of course, places women in a vulnerable position socially and

economically. They have to act as decisionmakers generally lacking the necessary legal status, and where remittances from absent husbands are low or cannot be relied upon, they must be family providers,

In Lesotho, for instance, only 50 per cent of woman-headed households received remittances. In Pakistan and India, the money is usually sent to male family members rather than to the wife.

### WIDOWS

"Men generally die at an earlier age than women leaving behind a pool of widows," the study notes, "who have few options in rural areas to improve their conditions."

They are often left to live alone, losing rights to land and are not recognised as a group needing special consideration, job opportunities and assistance.

"The lack of support on the part of both the family and the community has meant that in many settings widows have had to establish independent households," the study comments.

### DIVORCEES

The institutional position of givorced women is very marginal, regardless of whether they have dependent children with them or not. Family support networks may not always operate effectively for them and, worse still, discriminatory practices may exclude them from any share in the property of the former husband.

As a result, divorcee-headed households are spreading and the trend is likely to accelerate as life-styles will continue to change.

### SINGLE MOTHERS

In Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa the number of single mothers is significant — and growing.

Thus in Bots wana 80 per cent of all unmarried women above the age of 25 have children.

In most cases, the fathers have left villages to find work in the cities or abroad. However, some unwed mothers in several African countries actually prefer to stay single "to avoid polygamy, to retain their freedom, or because they cannot rely upon the financial support of their partners," the study says,

Not all single mothers have to set up their own household -- some may wed, others stay with their family. But many do so, and here again the tendency follows an upward trend.

### **OBSTACLES**

The study identifies a host of mutually reinforcing obstacles which complicate the uphill struggle of women who are family providers. Among them:

Outright or implicit exclusion from land ownership under many existing civil and inheritance codes, as well as under land reforms and resettlement programmes.

Discrimination in rural financial mar-

kets inhibiting participation of female. borrowers in the formal or co-operative leading system, leaving them at the mercy of "loan sharks"

Lack of access to innovations in agricultural methods, labour and livestock which makes women work harder, produce less and earn little money.

Bias in most agricultural and rural extension programmes that are almost entirely directed at men, while women's new productive; and managerial roles are overlooked.

### RETHINK AND ACT

Figuratively speaking, to be a rural woman and poor is a cross to carry. Another is having and bringing up children while doing all sorts of domestic and farm chores at the same time. On top of all that, to have to assume the role of family prov der means adding a third, the heaviest cross on a rural woman's shoulder.

The study urges a redirection of development thinking in favour of the many million human beings concerned and calls for new approaches to help alleviate their plight. Ideally, remedial measures should be incorporated into policies directed to benefit poor rural women and poor households in general.

But such policies ought to have specific built- in components for women who are mothers and family heads. There is a need for explicit efforts to involve these women "more actively in decisions related to community activities, extension programmmes, co-operatives, problems related to production and credit, "the study suggests.

"Additionally, there must be the recognition that a critical component of
motherhood among the poor consists not
only in the woman being the nurturer but
in being the economic provider as well.
This means that rural women will now
have to be perceived not only as subsistance cultivators, but as economic beings and
wage earners who are in need of employment and income generation opportunites,"
it concludes.

\*Nadia H. Youssel, Carol B. Hetler: Rural households headed by women——a priority concern for development, ILO, Geneva, 1984, mimeographed World Employment research working paper; (restricted).

### ILO YEAR BOOK SHOWS MORE STRIKERS AND MORE WORKING DAYS LOST TO THE ECONOMY

While the downward trend in the number of industrial disputes experienced in the world in recent years continued through 1982, there was an increase in the number of strikers and working days lost compared to 1981.

K

These findings emerge from a wealth of statistical data on industrial unrest collated in the ILO's latest edition of the Year Book of Labour Statistics and which are based on responses to an annual request from the ILO addressed to governments of all member states. Replies were received from 46 countries.

Extreme care should be exercised in using the figures particularly for between-country comparisons of the magnitude and relative importance of strike actions. Definitions, sources, scope and statistical treatment of data often vary widely from one country to another.

The Year Book figures show that in 1982 there were 15 per cent fewer strikes but 5 per cent more workers were involved in industrial disputes than in 1981 — an increase from 18.5 million to 19.4 million. At the same time, working days lost as a result of strikes increased by 11 per cent from 82 million to 92 million. However, there was a significant difference of trend between the industrialised and the developing countries.

### Industrialised countries

In 18 OECD countries that have provided data on strikes, the number of strikes went down by 15 per cent-from 13,000 in 1981 to 11,000 in 1982. The number of strikers increased by 8 per cent - from 15.0 million to 16.2 million. Working days lost went up by only 5 per cent-from 37 million to 39 million. The manufacturing sector accounted for 52 per cent of total working days lost, construction for 11 per cent, communities, social and personal services 11 per cent and transport, storage and communication 10 per cent. Corresponding figures for other sectors are as follows: mining and quarrying (4 per cent), agriculture (3 per cent), insurance, real estate and business services (4 per cent), trade, restaurants and hotels (4 per cent), electricity, gas and water services (1 per cent).

### Developing countries

In the 28 other countries—mainly developing, ones—the number of strikes went down by 15 per cent. There was a decrease of 9 per cent in the number of strikers (from 3.5 to 3.2 million), but a significant increase of as much as 17 per cent in the number of working days lost, from 45 million to 53 million.

### Duration of strikes

Consequently, it in industrialised countries average working days lost per striker went down from 5.8 to 4.0, in the other countries it went up from 6.0 to 11.0. Those countries with the longest duration of strikes include Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, India, Ireland, Mali, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Venezuela.

-GENEVA APRIL 1984

# TRAFFIC PROBLEM IN CALCUITA —DILIP HALDER AND GURUDAS GUPTA

One of the major factors which beckoned Job Charnock for the third time in
1690 to opt for the present site of Calcutta
as a permanent British Settlement was
the presence of a broad communicating
road from the river bank to the inland
interior. Being primarily a trading centre
even during pre-British times, transportation of goods and people was carried across
the communicating link mainly on
palanquins, animals and animal drawn
vehicles. With the rapid development of

Department of Economics, Jacavpur University, Calcutta.

Calcutta from a riparian trading post to the agglomerate commercial centre of the East, the existing communicating infrastructures were renovated and additional facilities extended over the adjoining areas of the hinterland.

Increasing business and commercial activities catalysed the influx of various categories of labour over the next 3 centuries from all over the country. Most of them chose to reside and work simultaneously in and around the city, occupying 62% of the present 104 Sa. Corporation area and beyond as residential zones and leaving a paltry 6.5% for the movement of pedestrians and traffic. With more and more passenger trips required to transport them to and from their job sites, the city which was originally built for 600, 000 o 800, 000 people extended upto 1.5 million, staggered under the additional onslaught of 4.5 to 5 million people, out of which 2. 5 to 3 million are non-residents who nowever use the same public facilities meant for the resident, population for an average 26 days a month, 12 to 14 hours a day

The process of urbanization had meanwhile settled in right after Calcutta was, declared the principal city of the East and the capital city of the British Empire in this direction. Developmental inputs in the form of housing, sanitation, waterworks, markets and activity centres, educational and financial institutions, hospitals and transportation facilities kept pouring in as the population swelled at compound rates of 3.18 to 3.5 / per annum over the decades. In no time the principal activity centres and commercial hubs were delin-

eated over the spatial landscape of the city across the Sealdah - Esplanade - B. B. D. Bag area in the city centre, referred to in planning parlance as the Central Business District (CBD). The river and salt lake swamps acting as deterrents in the West and East respectively, the pattern of city growth took a linear turn across the North-South direction. Commensurately. population spread across in these 2 directions principally with the spread effect touching the suburban and other areas included within the city conurbation. With economic activities on the rise till the mid sixties of the 20th century, more and more people arrived in the city of guest of jobs till the population reached a steady inflow figure of 0.75./ per annum, ultimately overrunning all the civic amenities that were created for this influx from time to time. The worst sufferers were sanitation and transportation facilities with an average short fall of 2 = 2.5 million trips in service supply, of the latter, this being reached in the seventies and continuing to worsen during the early, eighties (2-5.3).

In effect it could be said that planning for any of public unility services, particularly transport, had not been coverd adequately, either from the technological, economic or social point of view. Now that the century is about to set, the trend in planning, effectively for transportation services within and without the city limits, needs to be set on the right track rather than receive temporary, equivocal and adhoc renovations. The exact parameters have to be identified before reciprocal developmental measures could be formula-

ted and appropriate planning exercises conducted...

### SUMMARY OF OBSERVATIONS

To date the major problems afflicting the traffic and transportation system of Calcutta may be summarily categorized as:

- (1) an inadequate road net work system with 4.5 5./ of city roadspace being actually effective;
- (2) the presence of too many intersection points across straight stretches of principal corridors and maximum vehicular use of all these intersections in the absence of adequate signal and control facilities (936 principal intersection points within the city with only 215 being manually or mechanically controlled);
- (3) an insufficient surface modal system that is grossly overworked and operates more in competition than co-ordination;
- (4) the absence of adequate river crossing facilities that has helped containment of most economic activities across the linear trajectory of the city boundary, particularly within the CBD;
- (5) simultaneous movement of slow moving vehicles across the city arteries;
- (6) absence of ring road, truck terminals and ultra-city parking facilities for trucks and heavy duty vehicles which force them to use the existing city road net work and time;

- (7) dearth of parking spaces and terminal facilities for the city surface modes;
- (8) insufficient Pedestrian ways and cross overs that have further induced congestion, retardation of intra-urban vehicular velocity and accidents;
- (9) the existence of a temporal classification of orthodox peak and off-peak hours which over utilizes the transportation system and road network for the regularized peak periods and induced unorthodox traffic movement during off-peak periods;
- (10) concentration of principal activity centres in and around the CBD which induces simultaneous pedestrian, cargo, vehicular and tertiary sector activities in localized pockets;
- (11) too much emphasis on surface transit and minimum use of existing riverine and inland water network.

### SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

What are the new plan strategies to be adopted to save Calcutta and its conurbat on from unretracable urban deterioration, particularly of its Traffic & Transportation facilities, a reality which is inevitable by 2000 AD, give or take a few years, under the existing planning system?

...A few suggestions have been offered which may not change the face of Calcutta overnight but would surely go a long way in helping the city to recover from further blight.

(1) Future plan strategies should primaily

emphasize the benefits of long term planning rather than short run or adhocmeasures which have a feed back effect on the entire system and hinder further development one way or the other.

- (2) Traffic and Transportation planning. should not include only the technological aspects but give equal emphasis to the economic and social attributes of the long term planning function. As a public utility, good passenger transportation plans and policies must play primary importance on the significance and value of user demand and benefit. Operational and infrastructural costs and overheads should not be placed entirely on the user's shoulder and subsequent public funds but possibilities of exploring other revenue outlets. for meeting such expenditures must be contained in the planning framework, speculative deals on area development at the Governments' initiative to be ultimately used for public welfare is one such long term measure.....
- (3) Physical planning should not concentrate on the construction of road dividers and speed breakers also. These are extremely temporary measures and with the anticipated passenger and traffic volumes beyond 2000 AD, will do more harm than good by placing unneccessary obstructions to vehicle manoeuvrability and speed, factors which are vital for future high velocity movement, Rather alternative strategies in the form of increased road space, removal of pavement encroachments, grade separatred transit move-

ment, stricter street discipline, better illumination and signalling have to be adopted.

(4) The Modal mix in the city is far too heterogenous for streamlined aed efficient travel. The introduction on more personalized limited - capacity public modes would further jeopardize the situation. The transit trip deficit over the years cannot be met by increasing modal supply in an arbitrary manner..

Long term modal stratagies should place more emphasis on mass movement of passengers rather than encourage intracity personalized travel. Only a highly developed and efficient public transit service can reduce the inertia of increasing personalized trips to the city centre and other principal activity spots......

- (5) Traffic plans projected beyond 2000 AD should envisage the totel banishments of trucks, heavy duty cargo carriers and slow moving vehicles from the city. Encouragement to light commercial vehicle owners and other non - bulk operators should be one of the administrative prerogatives aimed at improving the city's mobility...... time regulation of truck movements. for conservancy or constructional activities must be coerced in the wider interest of society. Along with the construction of truck terminals, increased use of river transportation for cargo movement should be encouredboth as substitute and complementary measure.
- (6) Working in co-ordination with comm-

ercial and Business establishments in the CBD and particularly within the core area, office hours should be spread out so that peaks are more spaced than concentric and model movement and co-ordination more streamlined.

- (7) Abandonment of further RTS projects would only encourage surface movement which would surely choke the remaining surface area and gradually gobble up the additional space created......
  - (8) Electricity, as a future energy source for mass transit should be given prime importance in the absence of suitable fuel alternatives.
  - (9) Finally, the planner must realize that any long term planning for Calcutta must be concieved at points away from Calcutta.... Unless economic activities are spread over the adjacent hinterland area, no amount of traffic and transportation planning can save Calcutta. Calcutta may be concieved as some sort of operational Headquarters with only the essential administtative, educational, health, recreational etc services remaining, but 'it can no longer remain as the job site for the forthcoming 10 million population by 2010 AD and beyond... overall regional development rather than isolated planning activities (is recommended).

...All approaches to Planning today should concentrate on the urgency of an effective interaction between the land use and transportation planning of an urban complex which is subsequently co-related to the development matrix of the connected......

The 21st century should witness an integrated planning effort towards systems development not only for the benefit of Calcuttans but the entire region as well one hopes that the level of optimism is supported by credible plans and appropriate policies.

Science & Culture August 1984.

### THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM IN BULGARIA

The retirement age in Bulgaria is 55 for women and 60 for men. Depending on the type of profession and the physical condition of would-be pensioners this age can vary from 45 to 50 and from 50 to 55. Bulgaria is among the leading countries in the world in the active longevity of the people, including pensioners who have a desire to work and to be useful to society.

The Central Directorate of Pensions at the Ministry of Finance is the basic administrative body handling the methodological guidance in applying the legislation on pensions and the allotment of pensions. In addition, there are directorates with commissions on pensions in the individual districts. At present, there are 2, 119, 175 pensioners in Bulgaria which has a population of nearly nine million. The state shows concern for increasing the minimum size of pensions and aligning the size of pensions to the cost of living. There is a trend for the

average size of pensions to grow faster than the average size of wages and salaries.

As society, develops, the statutory law on pensions is perfected. There are several categories of pensions in Bulgaria, the widest being the one of old-age pensions ( people who have worked the required number of years and have reached the respective age). This category falls into three groups derending on the kind of work. done: group one comprises 11 per cent of the total number of pensioners, and is mainly confined to those engaged in mining. metallurgy, etc.: group two comprises four per cent of the total number of pensioners and includes those working in arduous conditions, and group three (85 per cent of the total) encompassing all other professions. The other categories include disability persions resulting from labour accidents or occupational disease. This can be verified by a labour commission of experts which determines the group of the disability pension and its size. Age does not count in the category 'of 'general disease disability'. What matters in this case is the length of service. Pensions of war invalids are fixed according to the group of disability and the rank of the invalid civil-disability pensions are also allotted to people who have died while performing their civic or public duty. There are likewise 'social' pensions (grants given to elderly people without any incomes), 'pensions paid to dependants' (allotted to students and widows who have been supported by the legator) and pension granted to cooperative farmers. The latter category is withering away for the process of pooling the land into cooperatives began in 1947 and was completed in the fifties. Since 1975 cooperative farmers have enjoyed the same conditions of pensioning

as industrial and office workers.

In the conditions of scientific and technological progress, the mechanization and automation of working processes and the alleviation of arduous work has led to a drop in the number of disability pensions resulting from occupational diseases.

Of special interest is the category of 'old age pensioners'. In them society sees part of the nation's manpower potential. The state encourages such an attitude. The question of labour longevity has been at the centre of attention of the Committee of labour and Social Welfare, a public and state body which coordinates its activities with the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. There are councils of Labour and social welfare in Sofia and in every district town, which see to it that elderly people in good health can get a job. if they wish. As a result of this policy 15 per cent of pensioners in this country continue to work. Their number in Sofia is 231,000. In Sofia and in the various settlements there are bureaux whitch supply accurate information about the vacancies which can be filled by pensioners, notably in the sphere of service and public utilities. as well as some specific professions and trades in the field of material production. Priority in getting by-the-hour jobs is given to able-bodied pensioners, on a par with students. They conclude labour contracts with the respective enterprise on the duration (two or there hours a day), the amount and quality of the work to be done. They receive their labour remuneration without it being subject to taxation. this is one of the points of intersection between generations in Bulgaria. workplaces where experienced that is

elderly people share their expertise with young people, and at the same time fully participate in the labour and social life of this country.

NEWS FROM BULGARIA
July 1984

INFLATION AND THE ROLE OF ADMINISTERED PRICES S P Gupta T G Sriniyasan write:

Using a simple intersectoral model, an attempt is made in this paper to assess the impact of changes in administered prices on sectoral and overall price movements.

The results of the study clearly show that

- (1) the impact of administered price changes on relative and absolute prices cannot be assessed without taking into consideration their mutual interactions:
- (2) the success of administered price revisions as an instrument to generate additional resources mobilisation in the public sector cannot be assessed in a partial eqilibrium model; and
- (3) the in lating potential of changes in administered prices is significantly high and the potential for generating additional saving is much less than the nominal effects.

IN this paper an attempt is made to assess the impact of government policies relating to changes in the administered prices on the sectoral and overall price movements of the economy. Such an assessment is very important since in India the weightage of all administered price to the aggregate is significantly large. Indeed, keeping in view our present concern regarding a high inflation rate it is worth investigating whether the administered price policy of the government has directly or indirectly added to or helped in reducing the inflationary price movements in recent years. Furthermore, given our concern over resources shortage in the public sector and the government policy of generating more saving in the public sector by an increase in administered prices it will. be also very pertinent to find how far during the Sixth Plan these measures added to the real net saving in the public sector.

The exercise has been divided into two parts: (1) The decomposition of the overall and each sectoral price movements over the selected period into separate components so that any given component can be explained by a specific factor like changes in (1) the administered prices, (ii) the import prices, (iii) the indirect tax rates net of subsidies. (iv) the technology or (v) the prices of primary factor inputs; (2) A forecast of the likely future price changes arising from given changes in the administered prices or changes in the taxes and, subsidies as a policy measure by the government or resulting from a change in the price of goods imported from abroad.

The price of a commodity belonging to any sector of the economy equals all the payments made for purchasing the material inputs and for the use of the services of the primary factors in the production process....

The cost of production in this analysis has been divided into (a) the intermediate

material input cost and (b) the primary input cost. The intermediate cost has been further subdivided into costs (a) due to the purchase of domestic inputs (b) due to purchase of imported inputs and (c) due to those arising because of the payment of indirect taxes net of subsidies both on the domestic and imported inputs...

TABLE 1: COM MODITIES/ACTIVITES UNDER PRICE CONTROL AND THEIR PRICE INDICES (1979-80=1.0)

SI No Commodity	1980-81	1981-32
(1) Fertiliser	1.4516	1,6364
(2) Sugarcane for sugar factories	1.1361	1.1440
( sugarcane )	· , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
(3) Coffee	1.0078	1.0859
(4) Rubber	1.1872	1.4. 22
(5) Cardamom	0.7495	0.8321
(6) Vegetable oils (edible oil)	1805	1.3490
(7) Coking coal (coal)	1.1808	1.4427
(8) Cotton textiles (mills)	1.0846	1.2009
(9) Cotton (raw)	1.1125	1.3826
10) Jute (raw)	0.9343	0.9913
11) Cement	1.0157	1.1765
(12) Electrical cables and wires	1.0088	1.0093
(13) Kerosene		•
(14) Paraffin wax		•
(15) LDO	1,3394	1,6208
(6) Furnace oil	•	,
( 7) Drugs	1.0170	1.1420
(28) Aluminium	1.2035	1.2875
(19) Iron, steel and ferro alloys	1.0538	1:2828
(20) Electricity	1.0940	1.2414
(21) Railways	1.0931	1.3706

Note: Price reatives with base 1979-80=1.0 worked out from the wholesale price indices. Economic Adviser's Office

#### II VALIDATION OF THE MODEL

tr this Section an attempt is made to validate the model specification empirically by mæking historical simulations over the years 1979-1982. Although the model is run on the basis of a detailed 89 sector classification, its results are presented aggr-

egated into 15 sectors, matching with the Central Statistical Organisation's standard classifications; given in its White Paper. This has been done so that any comparisons with the past observed data would become easy. However, in order to compare its results with the observed wholesale price movement, the solution values of the indivi-

dual sectoral prices of this model are combined with comparable weights, as used in the official wholesale price index. Similarly, by the same method comparable investment cost deflators are estimated from the model results for comparing them with the investment cost deflators computed by the Central Statistical Organisation. The overall gross output index, as generated by the model, has also been compared with the GDP deflator given by the National Income Account Central the Statistical Organisation.

The major inputs used for this simu-

lation exercise are: (1) the movements of the administered prices in the different sectors of the economy and in the aggregate; (2) the movements of import prices; (3) the movements of indirect tax rates net of subsidies; and (4) the movements of primary factor prices including the profit of the enterpreneurs.

In order to assess the movements of the administered prices, 21 identifiable items have been selected; Five from Agriculture; sugarcane (for sugar factories,), coffec, rubber, cotton and jute; Sever based on mining; coking coal, kerosene

TABLE 2: UNIT VALUE INDICES OF IMPORTS (1979-80 = 1.0)

Sl No		I/O Sector Code	1980-81	1981-82
(1)	Wheat	2	1.0307	0.8980
(2)	Rice	1	1.1358	1.1940
(3)	Other cereals	<b>5</b> .	0.8772	0.9274
(4)	Cereal preparations	20	0.7929	0.8752
(5)	Milk and cream	12	1.0312	<b>§.1444</b>
(6) (7)	Cashew nuts Copra	11	1.1357	2.5048
(8)	Crude rubber (incl synth and—	10	1.1075	1.2281
` '	reclaimed )	52	1.1119	0.9613
·(9)	Synth and regen fibre	52	1.0735	1.2600
(10)	Wool raw	13	1.0252	1.1776
(11)	Jute .	8	1.2955	0.9848
(12)	Vegetable oils fixed (edible)	24	0.6973	0.8783
·( 13 )	Fert iliser mnf	47	1.3227	1.5274
(14)	Paper, paper board and mnf-	1. 1	,	212 21 1
	thereof	37	1.1313	1.4228
(15)	Iron steel	<b>57</b> -	1.2435	1.1236
(16)	Crude oil	16	1.5184	1.7990
(17)	Petroleum pdcts	43 _	1.1477	1.2997
(18)	Non-ferrous metal	60	1.0089	0.9035
(19)	Cement	55	1.000	1.0812

paraffin wex, LDO, furnace oil and aluminium; and two from services sector: electricity and railways. Besides a large number of sectors from the manufacturing have been included of which three are major: iron and steel, fertiliser and cement. The details of these are given in the Annex and the estimates are presented in Table 1. Similarly, for the import prices individual unit values of imports have been estimated and presented in Table 2. For indirect taxes, net of subsidies, again they have been computed for each sector in conformity with our input-output classification.

Our validation test by the use of a historical simulation of the model, came out very satisfactorily. The observed changes during this period in the wholesale price index was 29 per cent whereas by using this model we explained nearly 26 per cent of the change over the same period. Similarly, the observed increase in the GDP deflator was 21 per cent whereas the model simulation gave an increase of 21.4 per cent. The investment deflator as observed during this period increased by 27 per cent whereas the model simulation gave 24 per cent.

At this point we tried to test a popular hypothesis that the high rate of inflation observed during this period can be explained largely by the observed increase in the administered prices. This is investigated by running an alternative simulation of the model where only the administered prices are changed while keeping all other prices constant at the base level. The price rise in the administered sector over this period was of the order of 17.2 per cent. The rise in the wholesale price index as a result of this change in administered price during this period came to nearly 16.8 per

cent, in this simulation. This 16.8 per cent can be compared with the 29.3 per cent increase in the wholesale price as observed over this period. This immediately leads one to come to conclude that over this period almost nearly 60 per cent of the price rise can be explained by the policy decisions of the government for increasing the administered prices during this period. Instead of the wholesale price if we take the observed GDP deflator to compare with the overall change in the aggregate price index of the model, we get almost the same result.

#### CONCLUSIONS

All these results clearly show that (1) the impacts of the administered price changes on the relative and absolute prices of the country cannot be assessed without taking into consideration their mutual interactions: (2) the success of the administered price revisions as an instrument to generate additional resources mobilisation in the public sector cannot be assessed a partial equilibrium model: and (3) the inflation potential of changes in administered prices is significantly high and the potential for generating additional saving is much less than the nominal effects. Thus a public sector price policy in its totality would be needed for assessing the real size of saving and investment in a plan and any ad hoc price changes in different sectors should be avoided during the implementation of the plan in order to stop any erosion in the real size of the plan and distortion in the plan's resources allocation between alternative uses.

> Economic and Political Weekly September 8, 1984

## WORLD BANK PROJECT AND STATE GOVERNMENT

Considerable misunderstanding exists on the implications of loans from the World Bank and credits from its subsidiary body, the International Development Association. Newspapers, abetted by statemenes by circles close to the Union Government, have sought to create the impression that bounty from the World Bank has added to the resources available to the State Government and that such resources are often not properly utilised by the latter. It is therefore important to set down the facts as they are.

The World bank provides long term loans to its member-countries. Repayment is spread over 20 to 30 years, with a grace period of between 3 and 5 years. The rate of interest for such loans is currently around 10 to 11 per cent; the Bank says it determines the interest rate by taking into account the average cost of borrowing capital tunds in the international market. The International Development Association. which is kept affoat by special grants from time to time by the Governments of the developed capitalist countries, does not normally charge any interest for the credit it offers, but only a service charge amounting to 3/4th of 1 per cent. The IDA credit is repayable over a period of 50 years and the grace period extends up to 10 years. As far as West Bengal is concerned, all the relevant ongoing projects are lDA projects.

Whether it is a World Bank loan or an IDA credit, the finance available does not normally exceed 50 per cent of the total cost of a project. This loan or credit is given in the form of foreign exchange.

Since, according to our Constitution, all foreign exchange holdings are retained by the Union Government, the loan or credit too from the Bank or the IDA accrues in entirety to the Union Government. Till 1977 the arrangement was that when a State Government would sponser a project. once it is approved, the Bank or the IDA would advance to the Union Government a loan or credit amounting to 50 per cent of the project cost. The State Government concerned would however be left 'high anc' dry, and have to finance the entire cost of the project from out of its own resources. It would be made a party to the loan/credit agreement, it would be forced to observe the conditions, which would be set by the World Bank or the IDA, but it would not get a single paise from either the Bank/IDA or the Union Government towards the cost of the project.

Since 1977, the position has altered slightly, largely because of representations made by the State Governments, including ourselves. The Union Government in that year agreed that for each project thus firanced by the World Bank or the IDA, additional plan assistance equivalent to 70 per cent of the amount of the loan/creuit received from the Bank/IDA will be made available to the State Government. Thus if the project was estimated to cost Rs. 100 crores, the Bank IDA loan credit will be around Rs. 50 crores in fore gn exchange, and the State Government sponsoring the project will now receive acditional Plan assistance from the Unlon Government to the extent of 70 per cent of Rs. 50 crores, that is, to the exten of Rs.35 crores. Such additional plan assistance will be provided by the Union Government to the State Government on sandard terms that apply to Central Plan assistance: 70 per cent of such assistance is in the form of loan and the residual 30 per cent is in the form of grant. All Plan loans from the Union Government carry a rate of interest of 7 per cent and have to be repaid within 15 years, the first instalment of repayment falling due with immediate effect.

It therefore follows that of the Rs.35 crores of additional Plan assistance to be received by the State Government from the Centre on account of the Bank loan-IDA credit. Rs. 24.5 crores will be in the form of loan and Rs. 19.5 crores will be as grant. The overall position is therefore that of the total project cost of Rs. 100 crores. the State Government has to find Rs. 65 crores straightaway on its own, Rs. 24.5 crores is provided by the Union Governmen: as loan to be repaid at a rate of intere est of 7 per cent and in the course of 15 years without the benefit of any grace period, and only Rs. 10.5 crores is in the form of a Union Government grant, Thus. roughly speaking, 90 per cent of the project cost is met by the State Government itself. and only 10 per cent comes from the Centre as grant; as far as the State Government is concerned, it does not receive a penny from the World Bank or the IDA. The project is nonetheless known as a World Bank project, and the State Government has to agree to observe all the conditions

set by the Bank: ours the burden, theirs the glory.

A number of incongruities in this arrangement are worth noticing. While under the Constitution State Governments lay any claim to the foreign exchange which accrues to the Union Government on account of the Bank loan/IDA credit, it can be a matter of legitimate heart-burning on the part of the State Governments that the additional Plan asssistance offered by the Union Government on account of the project is, in rupee terms, not even equivalent to the foreign exchange loan or credit, but only 70 per cent of it. The second incongruity is that while the Union Government does not have to pay an interest for the IDA credit, the State have to pay the Union Government interest at 7 per cent for the loan part of the additional Plan assistance received. There is a third incongruity: the IDA credit is spread over 50 years, but the States have ro return the loan to the Union Government within a period of 15 years. Finally, while the States receive not a penny directly from the World Bank, they have to observe the often onerous-and sometimes rank humuliating-conditions down by it.

> —West Bengl Published by the Gevt. of W. Bengal Septembar, 1984

#### MELVILLE AND HIS BILLY BUDD

Prof. S. N. BOKIL

Herman Melville, an American novelist, was born in 1819 and died in 1891. He wrote realistically of life at sea. Moby Dick, Typee, Omoo, Pierre are some of his works which fascinated the world.

The criticism on his cryptogammatic Billy Budd will never cease as its various interpretations—ambiguities will enlighten the modern readers about the recesses of the human mind which is caught in the conflict between good and evil.

Billy Budd is a handsome sailor on the war-ship, Indomitable. He represents the good and innocence. Claggait, the petty officer on the ship who is pure evil, cannot tolerate Billy's innocence, and goodness. He falsely accuses Billy of inciting the mutiny on the ship. Vere, the dutiful Captain immediately summons Billy to declare his innocence. When Claggait utters the false charge Billy wants to answer it. Because of his defect of stammering when excited, Billy is unable to speak. Claggait and Claggait falls down and is killed. Now Verb, the Captain, is caught in an unpleasant and unusual situation. His position is critical. There is the conflict in his mind between his private personal self and his social self which is accutely aware of his social responsibility as a captain. The dutiful captain in him provokes him to follow the Articles of War and hang Billy. If Billy is not hanged it will set a bad example to the sailors during the days of mutiny. The individual in Vere warns him that Billy is good and innocent. But Vere

is helpjess in this situation. His private self here is suppressed and suffocated by his social self. He loves Billy and he has to hang him. He is simply helpless. He cannot resign his captaincy during the days of mutiny and if he does so it too will indicate that an English Captain has sacrificed his position for his private feelings. That will be a blot on his career as a captain. He has to sacrifice Billy as Abraham sacrificed his son Isaac.

Vere's predicament is similar to the predicament of King Rama in the Uttar-Rama-Carita, a Sanskrit drama, written by the poet, Bhavabhuti.

Rama, the King of ancient Ayoddhya city, is caught in the same dilemma. There is a public scandal about his wife Sita, the Queen of Ayoddhya. It is spread by some washerman. King Rama, alongwith the people of Ayoddhya, is convinced about Sita's innocence. The scandal is about Sita's chastity during her imprisonment in the Kingdom of Lanka (Ceylon) where she was abducted by Ravana, the King of Lanka. Though Rama knows that Sita is innocent and pure—though he loves her as his dear wife he has to abandon her because he is the King of Ayoddhya and she is His queen. It will be a bad example before the people of Ayoddhya if he still keeps her in his palace as his queen. He is caught in the conflict between duty and love. His private self tells him that in abnegating Sita he is wronging her as the charge against her is false. But how can he prove her innocence?

As the king of Ayoddhya he has to take the decision of abandoning her. He gives orce-s to send her out beyond the boundaries of his capital.

The Social pressure and the pressure of Juty on both Rama and Captain Vere. are of the same kind. Their personal fee[negs of love about Sita and Billy Budd are the same and their predicaments also are similar. Both of them are helpless. The sense of duty dominates. Billy is hanged and Sita is abnegated. Both Vere and Rame suffer terrible agony after the execus tion of Billy and the abandonment of Sita. The suffering of Rama is skilfully and beautifully shown in the drama. His conscience--h3 feeling of guilt is exquisitely analysed and explored in Act III (The Chhavanka) of the Uttar-Rama-Carita by Bhavabhuti. The hidden suffering of Captain Vere also is cleverly pointed out by the great genius Herman Melville when at the time of his deats in the battle Vere murmurs "Billy Budc. Billy Budd". The two great writers of deferent worlds come close in their delineation of the psychology of the individual self crushed under the pressure of the social The psychology of the helplessness of the two unforgettable literary charactersand Rama who are torn between love and Vere duty—the personal and the social, is beautifully depicted by both Melville and Bhavabhuti.

For the rest, Billy Budd is a Short Story. The work reveals the characteristics of the short story. Frank O'connor in 'The Lonely Voice: A study of the Short Story', considers "a tragic awareness of human loneliness" as the distinguishing characteristic of the Short Story. According to him the characters in the short story are alienated and defeated. They are helpless. The short story deals with life's victims, insulted and injured, the forlorn and the alienated. It renders the defeat of human aspirations by remorseless and devillish circumstances. This is human destiny.

While reading Billy Budd a modern reader becomes aware of the striking loneliness and helplessness of Captain Vere. Captain Vere's alienation from society and his helplessness and secret suffering are certainly more obvious and more striking than those of Billy Budd. In the reader's mind, therefore, it is Captain Vere who proves to be the hero of the tale. It is Vere's psychology which is more appealing to the modern mind than that of Billy's.

There are many contradictory opinions and interpretations of Billy Budd. But this is how I analyse this world famous story.

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## Indian and Foreign Periodicals

# THE TERRITORY OF YOUNG WRITERS IN BULGARIA

What is it like to be a young writer in Bulgaria, what is the attitude towards young writers and the conditions for their advancement and establishment?

A National Conference of young literati was held in Sofia late last March, Long before it opened, the press came out with statements, articles and interviews on the problems which were to be discussed. The conference, which proceeded in several sessions and different sections, provided opportunities for detailed discussions of creative and other questions of interest to young writers, poets and critics. The main subject of the conference dealt with the state and prospects of young Bulgarian literature. Andrei Goulyashki, the wellknown novelist, made a survey of the literary work of the young. Elissaveta Bagryana, the eminent poetess, was also present despite her advanced age (she is almost 90). 'I could not but come', she said. 'I have this to say to the young; follow the dictates of your conscience, of your talent...

The conference, which was held for the fourth time running, provides possibilities not only for discussion, but for discovering young talent. Thus five years ago first mention was made at a similar conference of the then young poets Kalin Donkov, Miryana Basheva and Georgi Belev, of

novelists Georgi Markovski, Bozhidar Tomov and Yanko Stanev, who today enjoy well-earned recognition.

Nearly a decade ago, a study group of the young writer was established with the Union of Bulgarian writers, which was planned not only as a 'creative laboratory' for the young, but also as a protector of their interests of their natural striving for self-establishment. Writers up to the age of 35, who have published at least one book that has been received well both by the critics and by the readers, can become members of the group. Now it numbers more then one hundred, and many for the newly elected members of the writers' Union come from among its circle. Since 1978-79 writers and critics have joined the Union, 26 of them young people.

Many of the young writers live and work far from the capital, but works by the most talented of them often appear on the pages of the central literary publications. The group and the writers' Union help them find a suitable job, close to their literary interests. Often young writers are people of various trades and professions workers, engineers, physicians.

Literary youth has printed organs of its own. "Pouls," a weekly newspaper is entirely devoted to literary endeavours of the young and it often starts polemics

which find response in most prestigious ' literary publications. More than three decades ago the Narodna Mladezh publishing house was set up which publishes works by young authors. The publishing house releases a special series of books. 'Smvana' which comprises books by young writers making their debut in the literary field. Thus in 1982, 25 young writers had their first books published most of them by the youth publishing house. This does not mean, however, that the remaining publishing houses are a 'territory' preserved only for already established writers. Hundreds of works by young writers have been released by them within five years only.

Youth literary almanacs are being published in a number of district centres—in Plovdiv, Stara Zagora, Veliko Turnovo. These are cities of fine cultural traditions, but they have been picked out also tor geographical reasons being regional centres. Thus writers from different parts of the country are given equal opportunities to publish. Their chances are increased by the district newspapers which have literary columns carrying mostly works by young writers.

The central dailies pay due attention to youth literary efforts, publishing short stories, essays, poems, reviews, announcing competitions for the young, etc.

The group of young writers, jointly with the Writers' Union organizes literary evenings and readings, meetings with readers etc, attended by a lot of literary fans. Moreover, young writers, alongs ide established authors, participate in literary events and in poetry festivals held every year which prove to be a successful form of

communication between writers and the readers' audience, and a means of stimulating cultural life in each inhabited locality. This is one of the ways of decentralizing the intellectual process and of a further democratization of Bulgaria's culture.

NEWS FROM BULGARIA.
June 1984

#### THE MOVEMENT OF SORROW

Baden Offord Writes

He who seriously wants to dispel All the misery of others, Is an excellent man.

Because in the stream of his own being he has understood the nature of misery.

Bodhipathaprodipa-

'n

Beauty and truth are rare qualities in human life. Few people are simple, pure, innocent of heart, guided by the inner and outer promptings of truth. The world is a sorrowful place for the person who has begun to awaken. It lays before him its misery, cruelty and oppression, its pleasures, comforts and attractions.

Sensitivity to these things allows the movement of sorrow to take place. Hitherto, the movement of sorrow has been (and is for most of us) kept bound by our fears, self-inflicted tortures and credulity. Within each human being there is a wall which dams up the sorrow within a psycho-structure and when, from time to time it must needs be released, the nervous system expels it by way of neurosis or physical disease.

But the person who wishes to live

wholly breaks the dam and destroys it so that the flow of sorrow floods through his total being. A two-faceted qualitative change takes place. First, as the pent up sorrow is released it creates an immense and overwhelming insecurity. This may bring confusion, turmoil, an inner darkness similar to the Dark Night of the Soul of St John of the Cross. Secondly, it will wash away the past, breaking down all our barriers, all the claims of the self-sufficient ego. Both of these actions are portents of the transformation of the self.

On the one hand, the psyche is brought face to face with primordial energy and, on the other, with the terrible strength of destruction. Out of turmoil is born creativity; out of destruction cleansing. These occur at the same time, side by side; they are not separated by time or space. It is the simultaneous wholeness of creation and destruction.

So the movement of sorrow has within it the seed of an inner revolution. And the one who is willing to face this total revolution with simplicity will grow, as the energy trapped by the self-contained 'me' flowers into truth and beauty.

Most of us are afraid of this movement and avoid it at all costs. The brain is endlessly clever at playing games with sorrow, fragmenting it and theorizing about it. We must be aware of this tendency, observe it and question it, and then the movement of sorrow will come, for the very facing of it brings release.

The dam is our clinging nature — the self. Those habits which support the self must be seen for what they are and

discarded. Ramana Maharshi once said that the only necessity was to destroy the self. This is indeed what is required of the awakening human being; the past must be destroyed, the charade of the self must come to an end.

As the movement of sorrow fills the whole being the mind undergoes the revolution which marks the beginning of the truly religious life. The movement of sorrow has immense energy which can use the mind as an instrument of perception giving it a realization of the wholeness of life. Such energy brings with it a passion for life, for beauty and truth. In this way, the religious nature is formed and it is then moved by the Boddhisattva spirit of compassion.

The movement of sorrow, then, is the energy of intelligence, a spark of which can set the mind on fire as the simultaneous action of creation and destruction destroys the 'me' and gives birth to the higher nature. No fragmentation can exist in such a human being. Compassion has been born in him, for the movement of sorrow is love and it is the heart of the world.

THE THEOSOPHIST September 1984

# ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF J. C. BOSE

SCIENCE museums, science clubs and a few science societies are celebrating the 125th anniversary of the birth of J. C. Bose this year. We join them in expressing our gratefulness and appreciation of that great son of India who introduced modern science in this country and single-handed,

put India in the scientific map of the world.

How did he do it? While dedicating the Bose Institute he spoke. 'Thirty two years ago. I chose the teaching of science as my vocation. It was held that by its very constitution. the Indian mind peculiar would always turn away from the study of mature to metasphical speculation. Even had the capacity for enquiry and accurate observation been assumed to be present. thera were no opportunities for their emploverent: there were neither well equipped nor skilled laboratories mechanicians. This was all too true It is not for man to complain of circumstances, but bravely to accept, to confront and to dominate then; we belong to that race which has accomplished great things with simple means"....

'n the same address J. C. Bose says; In the persuit of my investigations I was unconsciously led into the border region of physics and Physiology and was amazed to find boundary lines vanishing and points of contact between the realism of the Living and the Non-living'

He communicated his first research paper on this subject to the Royal Society, London in 1971. It was rejected. Undeterred, he published his book The Living and the Nonliving in 1902 (Longman, Green & Co, London). He went on publishing his results in books, devised better and better instruments, look several trips to Europe to deliver demonstration lectures and finally convinced his European colleagues about the correctness of his results. It took him 20 years to do so and in 1920 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Patrick Geddes in his Liography of Sir J. C. writes, "The

difficulty among the orthodox, in science and in religion, is the relation of the new truth to old theory".

Santimay Chatterjee

—Science & Culture May 1984

#### RAMMOHAN ROY SEMINAR IN BENGALI DEPARTMENT, VIDYA BHAVANA

Sponsored by the School of Languages and organised by the Department of Bengali, Visva-Bharati, a two-day Seminar on Raja Rammohan Roy was held at the Sinha-Sadana on the 13th and 14th January 1984. The occasion was the 150th death anniversary of the Raja.

The Seminar was held in three sessions preceded by the inaugural address by the Upacharya Sri Amlan Datta. The Upacharya explained the significance of organising the seminar at Visva-Bharati. Rabindranath was deeply inspired by Rammohan's liberal ideas, intellectual approach towards life and his universalism. Rammohan succeeded in achieving a synthesis of East and West—of diverse religions and cultures. The same ideal was followed by Rabindranath also.

At the inaugural meeting two papers were read by Sri Arun Bhattacharya, Visiting Professor, Sangit Bhavana and Sri Surajit Dasgupta on the Brahma Sangit composed by Rammohan and on Rammohan's 'Concept of Existence.'

The first session was presided over by Deshikottama Kalidasa Bhattacharya. The theme was 'Rammohan's Study of Different Religious Scriptures. Sri Ashim-Kumar Datta of Jadavpur University and Sri Shyamal Kumar Chattapadhyay of Visva-Bharati made a thorough analysis of Rammohan's approach to Christianity. Sayed Mastafa Siraj traced the trends of Islam and pointed out the salient features of Rammohan's ideas which drew inspiration from Islam. The President, Sri Kalidas Bhattacharya, in his address discussed Rammohan's ideas about Hinduism and his relation to the Shaktas and Vaisvnavas of Bengal.

The theme of the second session was Rammohan and the Contemporary World. Sri Annada Sankar Roy Presided. Sri Arun Kumar Roychoudhuri of Rampurhat College presented a paper on his political philosophy and his nationalism.' Rammohan and the European Thinker's was the subject of Sri D. K. Biswas's paper. He gave a detailed analysis of the trends of huropean thoughts that contributed to the forming of Rammohan's political. social, historical and religous ideas. Sri Neogi of Kharagpur College, Gautam presented many facts about Rammohan's connection with the contemporary French elite. Sri Asit Kumar Bhattacharva of Visva-Bharati pointed out in his paper that it was Rammohan who had first expounded, on the basis of official records. the theory of the revenue drainage that was leaving India poorer. Sri Barid Baran Ghosh of Burdwan, read a paper on the 'Atmiya Sabha' founded by Rammohan.

The last session was on the linguistic attachment of Rammohan. The session was presided over by Sri Dilip Kumar Biswas. Three papers were presented. Sri Bhudev Chowdhuri of Visva-Bharati exp-

lained in meticulous details Rammohan's contribution to the growth of Bengali prose. Sri Deviprasad Bandyapadhya in course of his comments on the paper took up this same theme in his paper and assured the literary value of Rammohan's prose. Sri Rambehal Tewari of Visva-Bharati discussed in his paper Rammohan's style of writing in Hindi, and Sri Kalyan Sankar Ghatak of Kalyani University, made an evaluation of Rammohan's style of Persian writings.

Eminent persons like Sri Devipada Bhattacharva. ex-Vice-Chancellor Rabindra 3harati University, Sri Jibendra Sinha Roy, Professor of Bengali, Burdwan University and others attended Seminar, Prof. Pradip Sengunta, Sri Hafiz Muhammad Taher Ali and Sri Bhsbatosh Dutta also loined in the discussions.

> -Viswa-Bharati Ne ws April-June 8-1

ASIAN EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMME ASIAN REGIONAL TEAM FOR EMPLOYMENT PROMOTION (ARIEP)

REGIONAL SEMINAR ON MONITOE-ING POVERTY AND ANTI-POVERTY POLICIES IN RURAL ASIA

#### BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

The seminar was organised jointly by the ARTEP and the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies and was held in Dhala, Bangladesh during 7-9 April 1984., The basic objective of the seminar was to analyse

the effectiveness of anti-poverty policies and programmes in selected Asian countries with a view to formulating more effective policies. The countries that were represented in the seminar were Bangladesh. India, Indonesia. Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka. Participants were mainly drawn from senior planners and policy makers in these countries. Some academicians who have been working on the problem were also invited. In addition, representatives of workers' and employers' organisations and other UN and inter-government agencies like the CIRDAP, ESCAP and FAO also participated in the seminar. ILO's World Employment. Programme WAR also represented....

Four types of papers were presented in the seminar. One paper provided an overview of the trends in rural poverty in selected Asian countries during the seventies. Another paper brought out the data gaps and other problems of monitoring trends in poverty. A third paper analysed the precenditions, possibilities and limitations of effective anti-poverty policies in the Asian context. Finally, a set of country papers were presented, each of which attempted to provide a critical review of the various types. of anti-poverty policies adopted in the respective countries and to assess the impact of selected policies. A summary of the main conclusions of the seminar is being presented below in two parts: (i) lessons from country experiences and (ii) priorities for future work.

# LESSONS FROM COUNTRY EXPERIENCES

INADEQUACY OF THE DATA BASE

The seminar agreed that as far as the monitoring of trends in the incidence of

poverty in the countries of the region is concerned, both the official and unofficial. bases for generating reliable, timely and comprehensive data desperately need an imaginative improvement. The inadequacy of the data base precludes definitive conclusions about trends in the levels of poverty. Inadequacy of the official data further hampers a quantitative assessment and analysis of the dynamics of changes in the situation regarding poverty. It was suggested that estimates of the incidence of poverty should form a part of the statistical information that is made available by the governments on a regular basis. Monitoring of a small sample on a continuous basis was also considered desirable. Attempt to capture the nature of assets transacted by households was stressed as an important dimension to the desired restructuring of the statistical system for monitoring poverty. It is possible to put into operation a reasonably inexpensive technology of data collection. It was, of course, realised that in order for such ideas to be implemented, the governments need to be politically committed to the task and to the welfare of the poor. However, it was thought that in the absence of such a political dispensation, other organisations (e.g., research institutes) could take up this responsibility....

#### POVERTY RECORD IN RURAL ASIA

Evidence presented to the seminar as to changes in the levels of poverty in rural Asia did not provide any basis for believing that growth, whether of aggregate GDP or agricultural output per capita, necessarily leads to a reduction in the extent of rural poverty. Only in one out of ten case studies conducted by ARTEP, I namely Thailand,

was there strong evidence of a reduction of poverty over the 1960s and 1970s.

It was noted however that in two other cases, namely in Pakistan and the Indian Punjab, a deterioration of the poverty ratio in the 1960s—was followed by an improvement in the 1970s. For all the other case studies, there was a continued deterioration of the poverty situation over these two decades. When this is matched with the fact that several of these economies have experienced a fair extent of growth in aggregate terms or in their agricultural sector, there is a feeling that the nexus between growth and rural poverty has been weak.

# ANALYSIS OF THE DYNAMICS OF POVERTY

The papers presented to the seminar were rather uneven in the analysis of the causal relationship between the observed changes in the levels of poverty and socio-economic changes, in particular those involving the institutional and structural framework of the economies....

## LESSONS FROM ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMMES

Since land is the most important productive asset in the rural economy, it appeared that any income-generating asset endowment programme excluding? land was likely to have only minimal effect. Even for activities based on non-land assets, a minimum land base was considered to be essential. It was maintained that even a miniscule land base would enhance the investment absorptive and retentive capacity and would ensure optimal use of other non-land inputs. It was, therefore, argued that redistributive

land reform has to be made an integral part of poverty alleviation programmes. While this view was widely held, the question was also asked whether land reform was a sufficient or even a necessary condition for the alleviation of rural poverty. It was pointed out that in the cases where reduction in poverty has been reported (in the paper on trends in poverty), the phenomenon was not associated with any effective land reform.

For programmes oriented towards poor households, an optimal credit-subsidy max was considered essential. While pointing out the inadequacy of relying on collateral-oriented commercial banks for providing credit to the landless or near-landless, the imporance of specially designed financial intitutions like the Grameen Bank of Bangladeth was underlined. In this connection, mention was also made of the National Bank of Agriculture and Rural Development in Incia which provides reference to commercal banks for financing integrated rural development programmes (IRDPs). Promotion of collective or group activity amongst the beneficiaries of IRDP type or other pover vfocussed credit programmes was also thoueht to be important for the purpose of enhancing the bargaining power of the poor--both as sellers and as buyers. The right selection of beneficiaries for target-group oriented programmes was found to be difficult. It was, however, argued, that public scrutiny of the list of poor in a village could act as a check against wrong selection. It was also pointed out that local self-government with representation from the poor would increase the possibility of their participation in anti-poverty programmes.

It was argued that the supplemental

employment programme has to be a continuing one with an element of guarantee built into it. The aim should be to create durable assets which would not only strengthen rural infrastructure but provide direct continuing economic benefit to the poorest groups. It is possible to design such a programme particularly around social forestry, minor irrigation projects, communally-owned sericulture projects, etc. Wherever possible, the landless who are involved in the creation of some assets should be made the owners of such assets.

Income-employment generating programme for the rural poor should have back-up support of programmes providing basic needs in relation to health, family planning, education and public distribution of essential items of consumption. The experience of Sri Lanka in the early and mid seventies was considered relevant in this regard.

It was suggested that the duplication of effort among various agencies be avoided. In terms of the operations of the banks and other financial institutions, responsibility and authority should be judiciously blended.

Finally, it was pointed out that successful anti-poverty programmes, by transferring of the poor the productive assets that are created, would necessarily mean a tilting of the balance of power in favour of the poor A situation of conflict may also be created. For the poor to be able to face such a situation, the essential element of an anti-poverty programme was thought to be organisations of the poor which could conscientize and mobilise them.

It was also felt that the assessment of the actual effect of anti-poverty programmes on the alleviation of poverty remains inadequate. Whether these programmes lead to a reduction in the incidence of poverty, particularly at the national level, needs to be ascertained more carefully. In this context, it was pointed out that while evaluating the impact of particular programmes it is important to isolate the benefits generated by each individual programme.

#### PRIORITIES FOR FUTURE WORK

Two broad lines were identified for future research in the field of monitoring poverty and evaluating anti-poverty policies: (i) descriptive statistics: (ii) analytical issues.

On the first, i. e., on descriptive statistics, it was thought that although producing more facts about trends in poverty is no longer pioneering, it remains an essential task: and ustul work could be done in the area. On the methodology of doing so, the question was raised about the applicability of nutritional norms (in terms or calorie requirement) suggested by organisations like the WHO. FAO, etc. to poor countries of the Asian region. This raised some controversy. Some of the participants thought that poverty (particularly genesis of it) should be looked at basically as a social phenomenon rather than as a physiological one and that for the purpose of examining trends over time, the precise norm used does not matter much so long as it is used consistently. The limitations of calorie requirement as an indicator of nutritional requirement was also questioned and the need to look into the symptoms of poverty was emphasised. Others argued that even for monitoring trends the norm used may be important because the use of

different norms could provide different trends.

Regarding tools of analysis it was suggested that disaggregated rather than summary indicators should be used. Emphasis was placed on building profiles of the poor in terms of income or expenditure, measures of the quality of life (e. g., literacy, infant mortality rates, etc.) indicators of working conditions (e. g., wage rates) and the satisfaction of basic needs.

The importance of monitoring the impact on poverty of projects intended to benefit primarily the poor was noted. On this the need for developing proper indicators tor monitoring purposes and for generating information on such indicators was emphasised.

Finally, it was also suggested that research on poverty should concentrate on particular identifiable groups, such as, landless labourers, non-agricultural specialized workers, food-deficit farmers, etc.

On the second, i.e., the analytical issue, a number of questions were raised.

On poverty in general, two questions came up.

Frist, the importance of understanding the reasons for increasing poverty despite high growth of GNP in a number of countries was pointed out. It was thought that despite substantial contributions in the field, there is still a lack of a set of realistic and verifiable hypotheses. It was suggested that elements common to various countries should be brought within a framework of analysis to be built in order to understand the poverty situation.

Second, it was suggested that analysis should be made of cases where the incidence of poverty declined despite the fact that movements in real wages would not lead one to expect this.

On labour market; five important questions were raised.

First were the causes of rising landlessness. In this regard, the impact of factors like population growth (as well as the determinants of population growth), and the importance of looking into the phenomenon of age and life-cycle were thought to be important.

Second was the question of the failure of real wage rates to rise over extended periods of time in many areas.

Third, the effects on the rural labour market of large-scale international migration and the associated inflow of remittances were also thought to be important.

Fourth, the need to examine the interlinkage (or isolation) between factor markets was pointed out.

Fifth, an analysis of the link between the market for foodgrains and the labour market was considered important from the point of view of the determination of the grain equivalent of wages.

The third set of analytical questions related to non-farm activities. Here the important question of whether the proliferation of such activities was a symptom of growing poverty or an indicator of dynamic growth was raised.

Amongst questions of international

relevance which came up. an interesting sone was the aid-dependence of most antipoverty projects and its implication, partithe continuation of such cularly, for projects in the event of a reduction or stoppage of the flow of aid. Ouestions were raised as to whether the control enjoted by the rural rich over the poor increused as a result of the possible economic nequality engendered as a result of such activities Whether the nic-funded dominant political forces in the various countries were really interested in eradicaing poverty in view of this aid-dependence For poverty alleviation was also questioned.

The seminar found it difficult to come o any conclusion on that question. On he one hand, it was emphatically asserted hat, far from being non-zero-sum games rom which both the poor and the rich derived benefits (with the former doing so more than the latter) reliance on foreign rid for anti-poverty programmes tends to create a particularly insidious dependence on external help and saps the indigenous political will for genuinely egalitarian end antipoverty development policies. On the other hand, it was asserted equally emphatically that so long as it is possible to ensure that the bulk of the external mesources are tied to anti-poverty programmes, and as long as such resources can create durable and productive which in the short run create employment exportunities for the poor and in the long rin raise farm productivity (which could benefit all groups), there is no inherent reason for aid-dependence to cause any sarious concern.

ILO

Second Quarter 1984

# THE ISRAEL FESTIVAL' 84 HIGHLIGHT OF THE CULTURAL YEAR Helena Flusfeder writes

THE crowd stood awestricken, with mouths agape as Japan's "Sankai Juku" Dance Troop heralded the opening of Israel's month long celebration of music, dance theatre, and film by descending upside down Jerusalem's Old City walls. Yet the happening, as viewed as part of the Israel Festival in its entirety, was but a sampling of the diverse cultural offerings presented to the public during the celebration.

In the course of its four week long duration, the Israel Festival drew many of the world's most celebrated artists to Jerusalem. And along with them came tens of thousands of spectators, including many tourists. For the 150,000 spectators who lined Jerusalem's streets, parks and theatres, the festival offered as alluring a reason for pilgrimmage to the historic city as the city's religious and historic shrines themselves.

This year's festival was unique on many counts. For the first time since the festival's introduction, a single Israeli city hosted the festivities. The decision to move the entire celebration to Jerusalem rather than dividing it into various locations nationwide, is attributed to the festival's organisers who hoped to facilitate the creation of a truly festive atmosphere by centralising the venues while luring people the world over to Israel's capital city.

In the end, the reality by far surpassed the hope. Though the last minute decision to move the entire festival to Jerusalem proved detrimental to the publicity programme, the festival drew advance ticket sales of 60,000 instead of the anticipated 10,000.

Scheduled simultaneously with the annual Jerusalem Festival, the combined Israel Festival offered crowds a dizzying choice of events in all the performing arts with as many as seven performances to choose from nightly.

Festival Artistic Director, Avital Mossinsohn's inspired work and \$1.25 million in allocations from the Foreign Ministry. Tourism Ministry, the Jerusalem Municipality, the Jerusalem Foundation and the Jewish Agency, provided for successful recruitment of leading performers. nsohn cast his net far and wide, booking artists he had met at the Edinburgh Festival such as actress Claire Bloom, and the Odin Teatret, an innovative Danish theatre group whom he had been trying to lure to Israel since 1973. From the raptuous sounds of Jean Pierre Rampal's flute to the mellifluous voices of the Teatro Alla Scala Opera Company, one of the most acclaimed in the world, Jerusalem reverberated everywhere with song, dance, music and drama,

For a month the theatres, open spaces. and amphitheatres of Jerusalem were transformed. Multi-coloured flags lined every street in the city. Everywhere the laughter of children and adults resounded as puppets, clowns and mimes displayed their talents on the capital's side streets and in the arcades of the old city. Beneath the skies of Jerusalem, every idiomatic setting became the backdrop of a performance. Venues included the citader built on top of the old city walls by King Herod in the 1st century BCE, the Sultan's Pool-once the reservoir of the Old City and today an amphitheatre—the Jerusalem theatre and the Mount Scopus amphitheatre.

The richness of the festival's entertain-

ment offerings was unparalleled. Jerusalem's ever rich musical scene was enhanced by visiting musicians including the Brandeis Quartet from Germany, the Scottish Early Music Consert, and the Brigham Young Choir, all of which performed amidst the local and national orchestras and choirs.

Claire Bloom's programme of Shakespeare Heroines and Odin Teatret's "Ashes of Brecht" were sold out within days of the box office opening and were particularly well received. Traditionally conservative Jerusalem audiences received Lindsey Kemp's bizarre performances of "Flowers" based on Jean Genet's "My Lady of the Flowers" with unexpected enthusiasm.

Meanwhile, the nearby Cinematheque film centre was holding festivities of its own, hosting a three week film festival. With over 100 films shown from twenty countries, as well as premier screenings of five Israeli films, the film festival attracted its share of international stars. Attending the festivities were the likes of Warren Beatty, Lilian Gish, and Jeanne Moreau and renowned film directors John Schlesinger and Andre Delvaux.

Art lovers were not forgotten either. In various locations throughout Jerusalem an exhibit celebrating 80 years of Israeli sculpture was held. Drawing large crowds daily, the exhibit proved to be as successful as the performances and added to the pervasiveness of the festive atmosphere....

The 1984 Israel Festival proved that Jerusalem lends itself to arts festivals like no other city in the world and that Israel's glorious capital has joined the ranks of other premier festival cities worldwide.

News from Israel October 1, 1984

#### **OBITUARY**

#### Pulinbihari Sen

Pulinbihari Sen, a man of rare qualities who had been well versed in Tagore literature and was highly conversant with the poet's philosophy and his approach to life, breathed his last on October 14, 1584. He was a bachelor and seventy-six years of age at the time of his death.

Born in Mymensingh on August 11, 1908, Pulinbihari had his education, at first, in that town and then at Santiniketan. After passing the Intermediate Examination from Santiniketan, he came to Calcutta and got himself admitted into the B. A. Class of Scottish Church College. Finally, he took his M. A. degree from Calcutta University.

He began his career in the 'Prabasi'-office under the famous journalist Ramananda Chatterjee, and, afterwards joined
Viswa-Bharati.

It may be noted here that during his student life at Santiniketan, he had very good opportunities of coming into close contact with Rabindranath and of receiving his direct teaching as well as for going through his inimitable writings. The wonderful productions of the poet then made a deep impression on his mind and fascinated him more and more as days passed. It will not be too much to say that subsequently he

became absorbed in the literature of the poet.

Later on, he earned great fame by his stupendous works of collecting, compiling and publishing his voluminous productions with bibliographies and notes, where necessary, with meticulous care, His notes contain a wealth of information serving as invaluable guides to the research-workers. He was also closely associated with various research-projects on the life and works of Rabindranath conducted by Rabindra Bhavan at Satiniketan.

Besides these, he had to look after other publications of Viswa-Bharati, and, in this capacity he rose to occupy the position of the Director.

For his wide as well as deep knowledge of the poet and of his productions in prose and poetry, and his highly commendable services in these connections, he became the recipient of many honours and awards, Only a few months' back, he became the recipient of Emeritus Fellowship of Viswa-Bharati.

As a man, he was simple and unaasuming, and without pride or self-conceit.

May his soul rest in eternal peace.

The Indian Messer ger October 1984 THE MODERN REVIEW

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Srimati Indira Gandhi
Born November 19, 1917 Died October 31, 1984

Founded by: RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

# THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER, DECEMBER



1984

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#### NOTES

#### THE END OF AN AGE.

The assassination of the Prime Minister, Sm. Indira Gandhi is one of the greatest political tragedies to strike India in the post-independence era, for even her most bigotted political opponent will agree she was one of the greatest leaders of this century. Known for her dedication to the cause of eradicating poverty at home and abroad, she was also internationally acclaimed as a champion of peace and freedom. During the sixteen years she held office as Prime Minister of a country of approximately 700 million people, she worked relentlessly for the progress of her country as also for unity and amity among the nations of the world.

Born in Allahabad on November 19, 1917, Indira Priyadarshini was the only child of Kamala and Jawaharlal Nehru. The receipient of a liberal education she grew up in a cosmopolitan background attending schools, institutions and colleges in Switzerland, Bombay, Viswabharati as

also at Somerville college, Oxford. Politically she grew up in the hard school of "real politiks", watching her parents involvement with the national struggle for freedom throughout the years of her childhood and early youth. She joined the Congress formally at the age of 21 and after a few years, infact within six months of her marriage to Feroze Gandhi, she was imprisoned for thirteen months without trial.

Following independence and partition of the country, Indira was fully involved with relief to victims of riots and communal tension. During the years of her father's tenure of office as Prime Minister she involved herself in active political and social work. She was elected President of the Congress Party in 1959 while the first office she took was that of Minister for Information and Broadcasting after Nehru's death in 1964.

The mantle of office of Prime Minister fell on her in early 1966 after the sudden

death of Lal Bahadur Shastri and with a brief interval of less than two years, she remained in this office till her death. The 16 years of her leadership were milestones in the history of India. Although it is difficult to access which of her outstanding acheivements during these years were the greatest--- whether it be the abolition of the Privy Purses of former princely rulers. the nationalisation of 14 major commercial banks, the treaty with the USSR, the progress in agriculture, the measures to alleviate poverty, the social legislations such as those concerned with Dowry or her Leadership of NAM the undeniable fact remaens that in all these instances she displayed qualities of rare leadership, guiding the nation towards economic and social progress and gaining a place of honor for the country in the International arena. Infact there was laudible progress in all spheres. specially in the fields of agriculture, indusry, science and technology, as also in defence and international relations. Perhaps one may say that rarely in the history of independent India have the achievements of the nation in such varied spheres of activities reached such heights as during the East years of Mrs. Gandhi's tenure of office. Side by side however were gathering the forces of disruption motivated by religious bigotry and during the last days of her life every occasion was used by her to warn the people against these forces of disintegration. The tragedy lies in the fact that as long as she was alive many did not take these warnings seriously. Perhaps they did so because of their implicit faith in her ability to meet this challenge as she had many others in the past. In the ultimate analysis this ability proved to be her undoing because she rose to that challenge and in that ende-

avour laid down her life. What is equally true also is the fact that the nation failed to protect her life for she was killed by the very people whose duty it was to protect her, as by their sins of ommission, commission and instigation her life was lost.

Posterity will assess Indira's place in India's history ---posterity will also record the shameful betrayals of trust during the 36 years of independece—the Mahatma's assassination—as also Indira's, both at the hands of religious bigots. At present a bewildered Indian polity can hardly realise what effects Indira Gandhi's death will have on the nation. But what is evident at least is that an age has ended, and that the nation and indeed the world at large, is poorer by her death.

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#### INDIA AT THE CROSSROADS.

The genesis of Nations has always been a controversial issue. Expert opinions vary as to which factors of human existence lead to the establishment of Nations. According to some, common historical associations, common religion, language and so on lead to the formation of Nations. Thus one may perhaps say for eg France, Spain, Portugal among many other Nations of Europe have some or all of the abovementioned factors as common links among the people who form these nations. But the same cannot be said for the USSR which has many languages religion and culture, or for that matter the Yugoslav Nation which consists of distinctly different ethnic groups, speaking different languages, having varied cultures and religions All these nations, however, have common associations, historically speaking.

History tells us that generally nations are not born but made. Also that rarely are great nations held together by force of arms. Nor are they often kept together by the benevolence and good will of other nations. Thus the shaping of a nation like India was not only due to the unification of the country through geographical links by Roads and Railways, but rather more the result of a united struggle for independence and freedom during which communal, religious, linguistic and sectarian differences were submerged.

All nations also create certain bonds which are permanent and these are usually through common consent. They may be Constitutions, Institutions indicating certain values which are expected to bind the people together. India also accepted through common consent a constitution, a democratic system of Government through properly held elections, as well as a secular, socialist ideology.

Time has shown that apparently these bonds are not strong enough ro keep the nation together. Slowly over these forty years, the sectarian, communal, religious and linguistic forces are raising their heads, attempting to weaken and destroy the secular, socialist and democratic ideals the people accepted by common consent in 1947. And every such incident, not to mention the acts of political violence and intolerance, undermines them even further. What then can strengthen these bonds?

Perhaps the greatest need here is for all citizens of India to be concerned about the future of the country. A positive response and popular participation in the democratic functioning of the body politic is the need of the hour. India has survived against larger forces of disintegration previously. It is our firm belief that the nation will survive by solving the present crisis through mature political measures.

#### MY SANTINIKETAN

#### INDIRA GANDHI

As I wear the scarf of Acharya my mind goes back 30 years when I first arrived here with my mother and came under the enchantment of the wonderful man who brought this Institution into being and breathed life and purpose into it. How young we were and how we stood in awe of him, yet because of our lack of understanding of the world, we could not fully appreciate the magnificence of his thought and achievement. Now I can claim to have greater comprehension and my sense of wonder grows, at the radiance of Gurudev's personality.

Visva-Bharati. Gurudeva Through hoped to develop truly liberated individuals. That indeed should be the purpose of all universities. The liberated individual prizes freedom, that of others even more than of his own. He chooses the path of reason and holds to morality with emotion, but eschews fanaticism. To him the equality of religions and races is second nature. Self-discipline and restraint are his true badge. In other words, he is a true democrat. Those who do not believe in the methods of peace and reconciliation cannot be true democrats. True demonracy never allows the letter to pervert the spirit. As is said in the Corinthians, "Not of the letter but of the spirit: for the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life".

Gurudev wanted the individual personality to develop in close harmony with nature and with national traditions, but by tradition he did not mean that we should blindly accept all that was associated with the past. He felt that it was only when we work in harmony that we can learn to live with ourselves and with one's environment. Each nation must mould its own destiny. It cannot live with a borrowed heart.

X

... To come to Santiniketan is a pilgrimage. It is a place hallowed by the memory of a father and a son who sought to understand the meaning of life...

... We have a very difficult task of keeping our feet in the Indian soil, and grasping this increasing other knowledge which is expanding at such a tremendous rate. We have to do it in order to survive, to safeguard our freedom, to solve the problem of poverty and economic backwardness, to guard our culture and to progress: and, above all, to use this knowledge, not as is sometimes done, for destructive purpose, for dominance, for interference, but for the development of a better human being. I think that is what Gurudeva wanted.

\* Excerpts from the Acharya's speeches at the Visva-Bharati Convocations from 1966 to 1983, barring the period 1978-1981.

Visva-Bharati News Oct.-Dec., 1984. INDIRA-SMARANA.

#### THE CAR-FESTIVAL

#### BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The Car-festival is nigh.

The King and the Queen leave the palace to attend it.

Horses come out of stables, and elephants.

Peacock-cars move in lines, and in lines march lancers and guards. Servants troop behind.

There's only one long man who does not stir

The man who gathers twigs for the palace broom-sticks.

The steward takes pity and asks him, "Come, if you would join us."

The man replies humbly, "It won't be possible, Sir."

The King learns that all are coming save that poor wretch.

"Pick him up, too"-he graciously orders his minister-

His hut is on the highway.

"Come along to see the idol", says the minister as his elephant reaches the hut.

With folded hands the man submits—
"A long trip and arduous, my lord.
Have I the strength to creep up to the portal of the God?"

"Fear not," assures the minister, "You will follow the King."
Said the man: "Goodness gracious! Is the King's way my way?"
Says the minister, "Is it your evil fate to miss the festival?"
"Certainly not, my lord," is the humble reply.

"The Lord himself comes in his car to my door."

The minister laughs and says: "I do not see the track of his wheels here."

The poor man said: "His car leaves no mark behind."
"Tell me why." asks the minister.

"For his car is the flower car of paradise," said the miserable creature.

"Can you show it to me?" asks the minister.

The man points to a couple of sun-flowers blooming on either side of his door.

(Translated from Bengali by Hrisikesh Bhattacharya)

Modern Review August 1935

#### REPRINT

# COMMUNALISM PRACTICALLY UNKNOWN IN INDIA BEFORE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

BY SIR P. C. ROY

"Religion had no connexion with civil government, but was only the business on rather amusement, of private life.\*—Maxim of Alauddin Khilji. Sultan of Delhi, 1295—I314 A. D."—Elphinstone.

"Sher Shah's (1542-45) aim was to create a secular spirit in the State and keep religion in the background which he considered as the private concern of the individual, having nothing to do with public life."—K. Qanungo: Sher Shah.

"When Nadir Shah appeared on the scene (1739) the Peshwa Baji Rao suspended all plans of aggrandisement: "Our domestic quarrels (he writes) are now insignificant; there is but one

\*This maxim can only be paralleled with that of Lenin, namely religion is the the opiate the people. But Alauddin lived towards the end of the 13th century and Lenin in the beginning of the 20th—an interval of six centuries. Kemal Pasha also holds that "religion was for him the cold, clogging lava that held down below its crust the flaming soul of the nation."—Grey Wolf by Armstrong, p. 241.

enemy in Hindostan... Hindus and Mussulmans, the whole power of the Deckan, must assemble."—Grant Duff: History of Marhattas.

The history of India from the 14th century, when the Moslem power was fairly established not only in Northern India but in the Deccan as well, to the dawn of the 20th century shows that communalism was practically unknown during all those long six centuries. Strange as it may appear, it is only of recent manufacture and fomented to subserve political ends. Some passages from Elphinstone's History of India (edited by Cowell, 1889) are reproduced here:

"The Hindus were regarded with some contempt, but with no hostility. They were liable to a capitation tax (jiziya) and some other invidious distinction, but were not molested in the exercise of their religior. The Hindus who are mentioned as military commanders may perhaps have been zemindars, heading their contingents, and not officers appointed by the crown. There is no doubt, however, that many were employed in civil offices, especially of revenue and accounts;...... under Mobarik Khilji

(A. D. 1317—21 the whole spirit of the court and administration was Hindu.

"Hindus were allowed to hold positions of some importance in his (Sher Shah's) army. This policy he followed from the very beginning of his career ... One of Sher Shah's best generals was Brahmajit. Gaur......He was sent in pursuit of Humayun after each of the battles of Chaunsa and Bilgram...... We know that as early as the days of Mahmud of Ghazni the Hindus were welcome to the ranks of the Muslim army.

"Sher Shah was the first who attempted to found an Indian Empire broadly based upon the people's will.

No Government, not even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan's," says Keene.

"Mohammed A'dil Shah (A. D. 1553) committed the conduct of his government to one Hemu, a Hindu, who had once kept a small shop, and whose appearance is said to have been meaner than his origin. Yet, with all these external disadvantages, Hemu had a bilities and force of mind sufficient to maintain his ascendency amidst a proud and martial nobility, and to prevent the dissolution of the government, weighed down as it was by the follies and inequities of its head"

Even under the Emperor Aurangzib (1659—1707), Hindus held very trusted positions in the state. Under Aurangzib's Viceroy in Bengal, Murshid Kuli Khan, the Hindus had a monopoly of the important administrative posts in the civil deparate

rtment; they also held important military posts. Had the Mogul Emperor any innate hatred of the Hindus, he would have discouraged, nay sharply reprimanded his Satrap. Even at Delhi the practical head of the revenue department was a Hindu.

"All the same when Jafar Khan was created Prime Minister, and he continued as such during the War of Succession, the actual administration of the revenue department was conducted by the old and experienced Assistant Diwan Raghunath Khatri, entitled the Rai-i-raian. On gaining the throne Aurangzib continued this? temporary arrangement of the diwani. and raised Raghunath to the peerage A as Rajah (15 June, 1658).....He was a man of sterling integrity, diligent attention to business and signal capacity for administration" J. N. Sarkar: Aurangzib, III, p. 72.

It is generally said that Aurangzib alienated his Hindu subjects by his bigotry and illiberal sentiments. But even under his reign.

"it does not appear that a single Hindu suffered death, imprisonment, or tax on property for his religion or indeed, that any individual was ever questioned for the open exercise of the worship of his father."—Elphinstone: History of India.

He, however, betrays no disinclination to utilize the services of the Rajput chiefs, so Jeswant Rao and latterly Jai Singh, when he has to fight against the resourceful and Marhatta leader Sivaji representing the Hindu cause. It is true the Mogul Empe-

ror now and then sends Dilir Khan as a counterpoise, but that is because of his suspicious nature. He was more distrustful of his sons (Princes Moazzim, Akbar and others) than of the Hindu General. The perpetual dread lest his sons might emulate his own example haunted him. It is well known that after death of Aurangzib, the Mogul Empire rapidly broke into pieces, and we find that the Hindus rapidly gained the upper hand in the administration of the country, eitner, as independent chiefs, or as military commanders under Muhammadan Princes.

As example of Hindu toleration I may allude to the history of the Parsis, who are the descendants of the ancient Persians who emigrated to India on the conquest of their country by the Arabs in the 8th century. They first landed at Sanjan on the coast of Gujrat, where the Hindu rulers received them hospitably.

Another amongst the numerous instances of Hindu chivalry is given below:

Aurangzib's son, Muhammad Akbar, rebelled against his father and attempted to seize the Crown with the help of the Rajputs. The attempt signally failed; but the Rajput leader Durgadas most chivalrously escorted the unhappy Prince through every danger to the Court of the Marhatta King Shambhuji. Aurangzib was anxious for the restoration of his grandson and grand-daughter and came to terms with Durgadas. I quote below the graphic account of their restoration.

"Akbar's infant son Buland Akhtar and daughter Safiyat-un nissa had been left in Marwar with his Rathor allies, as the children were too tender to bear the hardships of his flight from the country in 1681. Durgadas placed them in charge of Girdhar Joshi in an obscure place difficult of access. They were brought up [1681—96] with every care, not only for their health and morals, but also for their education in the Islamic religion."—J. N. Sarkar: Aurangzib., V. pp. 281-82.

Coming nearer home, we notice a complete absence of communatism in Bengal. The independent Pathan Sultans of Bengal were the great patrons of the Bengali language, and Vidyapati sang the glories of one of them in his immortal verse. Bengal the zemindars were more or less like the feudal lords of the middle ages in Europe. The bara bhunyas or the twelve semi-independent barons were left severely alone on the payment of a fixed revenue to the Imperial coffer and even this was withheld when the Mogul or the Pathan was relaxed at the headquarters. There was no interference in the administration of their internal affairs.

Most of the legal disputes were settled by the awards of arbitrators chosen with the consent of the parties.....Petty cases were submitted to the punchayets or village arbitrators whose decisions were final.

Most of the bara bhunyas were Hindus, and the reason for this preference can be gathered from the following extracts The Life of Robert, Lord Clive, Ed. 1836, Vol. 1. by Major—General Sir John Malcolm.

But while they [the Muhammadan rulers] succeeded to the power which

these [Hindul potentates had held, the management of the finance and revenue. and all those minuter arrangements of internal policy, on which the good order of the machine of government must ever depend, remained very nearly in the same hands in which the Mahommedans had found them ... A Hindu, under the denomination of minister, or as Naib (or deputy). continued at the head of the exchequer: and in this office he was connected with the richest bankers and monied Hindus of the country.

"A very quick and intelligent Mahommedan prince, on being asked why he gave so decided a preference to Hindu managers and renters over those of his own religion, replied that a Mahomdan was like a sieve,—much of what was poured in went through; while a Hindu was like a sponge, which retained all, but on pressure gave back, as required, what it had absorbed."

"But there were other reasons which prompted Mahommedan princes to employ and encourage Hindus, both at their court and in their armies. They formed a counterbalance to the ambition and turbulence of their relatives, and of the chiefs and followers of their own race. This feeling operated from the emperors on the throne of Delhi, when in the very plentitude of their power, down to the lowest chief: and it is from its action combined with that influence which the wealth and qualities of the Hindus obtained, that we are, in a great measure, to account for the easy establishmeut and long continuance of the Mahommedan power in India. The new dominion was attended with little of change, except to the Hindu Sovereign and his favourites. The lesser Rojas (or princes) gave their allegiance and paid tribute to a Mahommedan instead of a Hindu superior while their condition and local power continued nearly the same.

"Hindu ministers and officers served probably to greater profit the didle and dissipated Moghul, than they could have done a master of their own tribe; and as there was complete religious toleration and their ancient and revered usages were seldom or never outraged, they were too divided a people upon other subjects to unite in any effort to expel conquerors, who under influence of various motives, left to them almost all, except the name of power."

During his Viceroyalty, Murshid Kuli Khan employed as his revenue officers and councillors trusty Hindus, and was entirely guided by their advice; prominent among these were Darpanarayan, Bhupati Roy, Kishore Roy and Jeswant Roy and Raghunandan. Even high military posts were thrown open to the Hindus. Lahory Mull and Dulip Singh, though Hindus, were employed as commandants against recalcitrant defying Hindus. Among zemindars, Ramjivan and his right hand man Day-6

<sup>\*</sup>Jeswant Roy, who had been one of the ministry of Murshid Kuli Khan, was a wise ruler and an eminent financier. He did everything in his power to foster trade (Bradley-Birt, l. c.)

aram, as also Raghuram held at times important military posts

During the Nawabship of Ali Verdy. the Hindu Nandalal held the highest military command in the earlier portion of his reign. Raia Janakiram was his most trusty councillor: his sons Raia Durlabhram and Raja Ramnarayan were equally the holders of the highest posts. Chinmoy Rov. Virndatta. Kirtichand. Amrita Rov Chintamoni Das and Gokul Chand were the leading dignitaries in the revenue departments and later on Raja Rajballabh of Dacca from very humble beginning rose to be Naib-Subadar. Rajaram was in a manner his plenipotentiary in negotiations. Dewan Manikchand and Umedram occupied positions of importance. Not only were the Hindus held in high esteem in fiscal aflairs but often were entrusted with military Durlabhram. Manikchand. commands. later on Mohunial and Svamsundar showed bravery on the battle field.

In fact the real trouble of Nawab Ali Verdy Khan was owing to the defection and perfidy of the Moslem lieutenants; they had not the least scruple in throwing off their allegiance to Ali Verdy and making common cause with the Marhattas. Indeed bigotry or communalism is discernible throughout. Self interest alone is the guiding motive.

'When Meer Jaffer agreed to separate himself, with a large body of troops, from the Nabob's army" (Malcolm's Clive, Vol. I. p. 254) it was the Bengali Hindu, Mohun Lal and the Bengali Mussulman, Mir Madan, who did not desert the Nabob, showed prowess on the battle field, but could not of course, retrieve the fortune of the day.

It will thus be seen that during the Moslem period from the 13th century uptil the battle of Plassey the Hindus of Bengal had never occasion to feel that they were under an alien rule. The highest offices—civil and military—were thrown open to them. It is again a remarkable fact that with the exception of the Raja of Birbhum all the big zeminders were Hindus. Kali Prasanna Banerji, the author of Nawabi Amul in Bengali, asserts that only one-sixteenth share of the zemindaries fell to the lot of the Moslems.

A casual reader of the history of India is apt to run away with the idea that it was Akbar alone who adopted a policy of religious toleration and sought the co-operation of the Hindus in the administration. It has been pointed out that from the time of Ala ud-din Khilji no Hindu ever laboured under any civil disabilities.

It will also be abundantly clear that there was no such thing as Moslem solidarity. The Moslem ruler enters into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Hindu chief, against his own co-religionist and the Hindu ruler in turn also does the same. The Moslem as Moslem is never found to show a jot of communalism.

The Hindus had suffered from foreign invasions from the earliest times, but it often happened that the foreign conquerors were absorbed completely into the Hindu society as the Scythians. With Muhammadan conquerors, however, such absorption was not possible.

"The Muslim civilisation was distinct and individualistic and did not suffer absorption into the Hindu civilisation. The Muslim kings consi-

dered their wars as holy iihads. destroyed temples, converted Hindus, and oppressed them. But gradually between the two great communities the spirit of toleration sprang up. The Muslim kings employed Hindu ministers. took the help of Hinda chiefs, married Hindu wives and patronised Hindu literature (especially the vernaculars). The Hindu kings of Vijaynagar employed Muslim soldiers. gave them land, built mosques for them and respected their faith. The Muslim Sultans also employed Hindu soldiers. The intercourse between the Hindus and Muslims in camp brought about a mixture in their language resulting in the origin of the Urdu language. The Muslim king, Zainul Abedin of Kashmir appointed Hindus to state offices and followed a policy of toler-Similary Hussain Shah of liberal ... Vernaculars Bengal was were also a patronised. Bengali owes no small debt to Hussain Shah and Nasrat Shah for its free development unfettered by Sanskrit. The Bengali Krittivasa. and of Ramayana Mahabharata of Kasidasa are the household literature of the Bengalis. The poets, Vidyapati and Chandidasa, sang their exquisite lyrics.

"Reformers of catholic ideas preached the essence of religions, and rose superior to the dead forms of religion and hard caste rules, and preached the equality and dignity of man as man. Ramananda, a tollower of Ramanuja, was a high caste Brahman and preached in Hindi the cult of Ram (and Sita) to all castes, even Chamars or leather workers. The most important of his

disciples were Raidas and Kabir. Thelatter was a weaver by caste. He taught that the God of the Hindus and Muslims is the same, there is nodistinction between Ram and Rahim; in fact, all religions were equal. In Maharashtra Namadeva preached in Marathi that the God of the Hindus and Allah of the Muslims is the same-One God. Both he and the Brahman. saint Eknatha mixed freely with the untouchables, and taught dignity of man as a man. The Bauls of Bengal were preaching that man is man, and is above all caste or religion. Chaitanva flooded Nadiva and Bengal with his Bhakti Cult, taught equality and even had Muslim disciples. Vallabhacharyva established a Vaishnava Cult in Northern India. Nanak taught that truth is equally to be found in Islam and Hinduism, levelled caste distinctions and preached universal toleration. He had many Muslims as his disciples-Mitra: Indian History for K. P. Matriculation, pp. 112-15

The fact is, the Hindu-Moslem disunion is of recent manufacture or creation. Three decades ago it was scarcely known. In my days of boyhood during the Durga Pujah festival, my father, grandfather, and great-grandfather used to invite the Kazis of Gadaipur (near our native village) to attend the Jatras and they invariably responded to the invitation. Such was the case everywhere in Bengal. Perfectly amicable and cordial relation existed between the two great communities.

Bradley—Birt writes thus of the amicable relations between the two communities in 1906 in his The Romance of an in Eastern Capital.

"Even the Hindus pay homage at the shrine of Sheik Muhammad Yasuf. If the ryot is in fear for his crop, he brings a handful of rice. If his child is ill or his cattle a prey to disease, he says some small propitiatory offering on the tomb. If the harvest has been plenteous, he gives a bundle of rice straight from the field as a thanks offering. In joy or in sorrow the tomb of the Saint plays its appointed part in the inner life of the people.

"A short distance away, across the fields, there lies the tomb of Pagla Saheb (Mad man), so much venerated by both Hindus and Mahomedans that parents offer at it the 'coti' or queue of their children when dangerously ill."

Cf. also:

"Religious quarrels between Hindus and Mahomedans are of rare occurence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord and majority of the individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same Hookah". Taylor: Topography of Dacca (1840), p. 257

The contrast between Europe and India in so far as it relates to religious coleration is illuminating.

The history of Europe till lately is emphatically the history of religious persecution of the most revolting type. Not only the crusaders, spurred on by the fiery anathemas and phillipies of Peter the Hermit and the like, went through harrowing privations in their attempts to rescue the holy sepulchre from the "infidels", but cruel long-standing wars originating in religious dogmas decimated and disfigured Europe for centuries.

Let me contrast the European crowned heads with their contemporaries in India.

"It was, therefore, with reason that Charle Vat the close of his career. could boast that he had always preferred his creed to his country, and that the first object of his ambition had been to maintain the interests of Christianity. The zeal with which he struggled for the faith, also appears in his exhertions against heresy in the Low Countries According to contemporary and competent authorities, from fifty thousand to a hundred thousand persons were put to death in the Netherlands, during his reign on account of their religious opinions.... But we know that, between 1520 and 1550, he published a series of laws, to the effect that those who were convicted of heresy should be beheaded or burned alive, or buried alive",-Buckle. History of Civilization.

The Dutch wished to adopt and in many instances did adopt, the reformed doctrine; Therefore Philip (1555-1589) waged against them a cruel war, which lasted thirty years and which he continued till his death, because he was resolved to extirpate the new creed. He ordered that every heretic who refused to recant should be burned.... Of the number of those who actually suffered in the Low Countries, we have no

precise information; but Alva triumphantly boasted that, in the five or six years of his administration, he had put to death in cold blood more than eighteen thousand,"—Ibid.

In comparison with this dismal episode India stands out in bright and bold relief. In a the Malabar coast Mohammedan inroad, could not penetrate. In this region the Hrdu Kings enjoyed absolute immunity--but their spirit of toleration awakens 'our adxiration. The Syrian Christians obtained a facting in Cochin and Travancore as early as 13 1st or 2nd century. They were welcomed and offered hospitality and allowed to profess their religious practices without let or hindrance, with the result that to-day we fird that fully one-third of the population of Travancore profess the Christian faith. When the Parsis, persecuted in the land = their birth, sailed to the Bombay coast the Hindu Raja offered them safe asylum as shown above.

It has been seen that the Hindus during the Milem Period from the 14th century onwards never laboured under civil disabilities on account of their religion and that a spirit of catholicity and toleration pervaded the policy of the rulers whereas within recent times in England, not only Catholics but ever hissenting Protestants were subjected to vexatious exclusions. Any student of the constitutional history of England is aware of this.

"The 'Test Act' (under Charles II) was in anded to exclude all Catholics from affice by a test which could not be evaled, and which would consequently compel all office—holders who

were Catholics in secret to \* declar, themselves.

"More striking in the popular judgment and equally essential to uture" progress were the steps taken towards religious toleration.

"The Test Act was at last repealed in 1828. In the next year the even more important "Catholic Emancipation Act was passed.

"The act of emancipation admitted Catholics to both houses of Parliament and to all public offices, local and national, except a very few. Comparatively little yet remained to be done in this direction, but Jews were not admitted to Parliament until 1858 nor nonconformists on equal terms to the universities until 1871". Extract from the Constitutional history of England by George Burton Adams, Ed. 1933. The French philosopher very rightly observes:

"Such, reigning over the greatest empire that has ever been, were those two admiral sovereigns. Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. History presents but one other example of this heredity of wisdom on the throne, in the persons of the three great Mogul Humaioun, Emperors, Baber, Akber, the last of whom offers such of resemblance to striking points Marcus Aurelius." Marcus Aurelius. This article is. substantially. chapter of the forthcoming second volume of the Author's Life and Experiences].

> Modern Review July, 1935

### THE NATIONALIST PHILOSOPHY OF THE BHAGAVADGITA

A. V. RATHNA REDDY

The Indian nationalist thought is not a product of extraneous influence but it is rather intensely and intrinsically scriptural. Life, either individual or national, is impossible without scriptural guidance, for it shows the way to orderliness, growth and perfection. Scriptures embody the spirit of the nation. its way of life and serve as its sentinel. As pointed out by K. M. Munshi, the impact of the scriptures on the Indian way of life is quite deep and everlasting: "Behind the social, literary and aesthetic achievements of the Arvan Culture, stands the influence of two immortal works: The Ramayana and The Mahabharata. And behind their influence the inspiration, which has been given through a hundred varying channels, of Srikrishna's undying message of life in the Bhagavadgita."1

The life of a nation is reflected in the life of the individual and Vice versa: The teachings of the Bhagavadgita, though intended for individuals, are equally applicable to the nation as a whole. The distinct common ideals of the nation are the most vital ones: harmony, equanimity, righteousness, selfless activity, renunciation, Swadharma, Lokasamgraha, loyalty to scriptural injunctions etc. In fact, the Gita's way of life itself provides a philosophy of national-

ism. Sister Nivedita has aptly pointed out the social and political nature of the Gita as follows: "The compassion of Buddha, perhaps, fooms greater across the centuries, but in dealing with social problems his very tenderness and spiritual fire make him second to Krishna, who was always calm, broad and consistently national in outlook. We must accept the Gita as an authoritative pronouncement on Hindu society."2 The Give is national in the sense that it strengthens national faith in the ethical ideal of Swadharma, the political goal of Swarai, the economic concept of Swadeshi and the spiritual technique of resistance to evil, which constituted the Planks of Indian nationalism and movement, are enshrined in the Gita itself.

The message of the Gita is greatly felt in the presence of a crisis, individual and national. For, a crisis demands clarity of thought and placidity of action. The occasional convulsions of India, cultural and religious, have been surmounted by seeking the guidance and by the timely unravelling of the message of the Gita by religious pontiffs, Acharyas, which helped maintain the cultural and religious unity of the country. In the realm of national politics the doughty and ebullient national-

ists, seized with the imperative of national independence, dived deep into the teachings of the Gita and re-interpreted its ideals to salvage India socially, economically, politically and spiritually. They felt that the despicable and servile plight of India was due to the deviation of the people from her spiritual ideals. They believed that the remedy for political servitude lay in the revival and stabilisation of peoples faith in Sanathana Dharma.

Though the Gita upholds faith, individual and national, it does not advocate blind following of the traditional faith. It stands for rationalism. It is independent in ontlook, free and frank in expression. It is neither complaisant nor complacent of the remote ideals and institutions of India. however sacred the source was. It is critical even of those who are devoted to the letter of the Vedas.5 It corrected them wherever necessary. K. T. Telang points out the independent outlook of the Gita in the following words: 'The Gita does not, like Buddhism, absolutely reject the Vedas, but it shelves them. The G ta does not totally root out caste. It places caste on a less tenable basis."6 The Gita's individua. lity lies in the fact that it garnered scattered ideas, developed and systematised them and made knowledge intelligible to the common man. Sri Aurobindo explained the comprehensiveness of the Gita in the following words: "To arrive at the comprehensiveness at which it aims, it goes back behind the great philosophical systems to the original Vedanta of the Upanishads, for there we have the widest and profoundest extent synthetic vision of spirit and man and cosmos. But what is in the Upanishads undeveloped to the intelligence, because wrapped up in a luminous kernel of intuitive vision and

symbolic utterance, the Gita brings out in the light of a later intellectual thinking and distinctive experience." Thus the Gita, is meant for a guidance of the common man.

## IDENTITY WITH NATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

The Gla's external outlook eddies round the environment of India. Despite its impersonal and universal outlook, it is not free from the fascination of national life. It reckons with respect the authority of the Vedas, acknowledges the Brahman of the Upanishads as the Supreme being and recommends the knowledge and practice of Yoga for attaining perfection. It proudly claims the best of Indian human and subhuman life as its very self. It finds identity with India's Gods, heroes, mentors, saints, priests, weapons, trees, birds, rivers and mountains etc.8 Thus the outlook of the Gita is i flooded with national feeling. It mentions thing which are particularly Indian and to maintain its universal outlook it says about things in general. As a matter of fact, patriotism or nationalism is identical with and not inimical to universalism. The Gita set the example for the common man. sacred feeling of oneness, which the Gita embodies, shall be cultivated by the individual and society to reach the supreme goal of universalism. Lokamanya Filak echoed the voice of the Gita in explaining the necessity of patriotism to universalism: "Just as the worshipful of the qualityful (Saguna) Brahman is necessary in order to attain the qualityless (Nirguna) Brahman, so also is the ladder of pride of one's family, pride of one's religion, pride of one's country etc. necessary in order to acquire the feeling of "Vasudhaika Kutumbam", and as every

generation of society climbs up this ladder, it is always necessary to keep this ladder intact."9

#### DIVINE DETERMINISM

Though the Gita is national in form and appeal, it never allows national megalomania or egoism. Being true to its soaring heights of philosophic visualisation, it does not permit the individual or nation to regard as ends in themselves, for it admonishes them to think of themselves only as the instruments of His action. Therefore, "Freedom, in the Gita, is an illusionary liberty of choice, working within the bounds of an ultimate determinism." 10

National enslavement or enlightenment depends upon divine will. The will of the Lord to awake India, accordingly, was manifested in the Renaissance.

#### RENAISSANCE:

The impact of the Gita was evident in the rejuvenation of national life. It infused activity and strength, physical, intellectual and spiritual, into the nation. The country found that its teachings were highly indispensable for the survial and efflorascence of national form and spirit. The dyanamic teachings of the Gita revealed to the nationalists that the internal weaknesses of regnant inactivity, foggy social barriers and suicidal isolation were to be weeded out. They felt that all kinds of barriers were to be shelved forever and the process of national synthesis was to be evolved by creative activity. Pointing out the impact of the Gita on national life Sri Aurobindo wrote: Its influence is not merely philosophic or academic but

immediate and living, an influence both for thought and action and its ideas are actually at work as a powerful shaping factor in the revival and renewal of a nation and culture."12

#### ACTIVITY

The Gita points out action is superior to inaction.13 Activity must be performed with a desireless frame of mind for the maintenance of world order 14 This is Lokasamgraha. The Gita's concept of detached activity ensures national prosperity. peace and freedom. National activity can be performed only in an atmosphere of national freedom. The Gita demands freedom in work but not freedom from work. But India under the alien was helpless and fumbled to diagnose her true sense of national activity. It was at this juncture that the Gita's message of selfless activity inspired the savants and the laity to search for the means of action. "The urgent need was to endow the Hindu people as a whole with a new ethic and message for social action and to discover a dynamic doctrine which, while providing the Hindus with modern social ideals, would enable them to transform their society. A doctrine which would give the sanction of orthodoxy to modern ideas was what Hinduism required. This is what the Gita did. It provided a new ethic: it enabled new social ideals to be formulated without apparently violating orthodoxy."15 The Gita's technique of activity was interpreted by the nationalists according to their mental make-up. For example, Pandit Nehru interpreted the Gita's call in terms of social action. "Modern India is tull of frustration and has suffered from too much quietism, this call to action makes a special

appeal. It is also possible to interpret that action in modern terms as action for social betterment and social service, practical, altruistic, patriotic and humanitarian. Such action is desirable, according to the Gita, but behind it must lie the spiritual ideal."16

The Gita showed the goals of freedom to political workers, the uplift of the downtrodden to social reformers, the revival of arts and crafts to the economists and the enthronement of righteousness to the anthodox. This endorses the mysterious nature of action which can be followed by the introvert and the extrovert and it found all walks of national Ėts place in life. Tilak and Gandhi spiritualised politics. Tagore and Gandhi heralded the programme of rural reconstruction and the social and religious reformers worked for the literacy of the masses. These and many other activities paved the way for the emergence of a new India brimming with resource. initiative and adherence to Swadharma. The concomitant of the technique of nationalist aztivity was Swadharma. To perform activity was to fulfil one's Swadharma.

#### SWADHARMA

Perhaps no other ideal of the Gita was so closely interwoven with Indian nationalist movement as the ideal of Swadharma. It prevented the growth of anti-nationalism and veered the country away from the suicidal imitation of western thoughts and activities. The Gita insists on Swadharma, both individual and national, for the fulfilment and perfection of life. The Gita declares. "One's own duty, though devoid of merit, is preferable to

the duty of another well performed. Even death in the performance of one's own duty brings blessedness; another's duty is fraught Swadharma is - the natural with fear 17 right and inherent duty of individual and society. The rise and fall of a nation depends on not only the perfecting but also the following of its Swadharma. There fore. Swadharma is the national ethic, alpha and omega of its individuality, and the seedbed of nationalist thought and activity. The more one achieves perfection in Swadharma the more is the expansion of one's freedom. Therefore, Swadharma stands for absence of restraints in the individual and national life. The nationalists felt that performance of Swadharma was incompatible with alien rule and hence demanded Swarai. Thus the ideal of Swadhaima upholds freedomindividual, social, economic, national and s piritual.

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The external field of activity must be congenial to the individual for performing Swadharma. Any intervention from outside certainly impairs the individual initiative, growth and freedom. Swadharma makes the individual self-willed and selfcontrolled. Therefore, "Freedom is made beneficial and lawful because the individual can order his life by his Swadharma. Thus the classical ideal was not lawless freedom but rather lawful freedom - self rule. Swaraj. Lawful freedom, Swaraj, meant living in accordance with Swadharma".18 Swadharma uplifts the individual and society. The concomitant of individul growth is social growth and oneness.

The Individual Swadharma never comes into conflict with the wider interests of society. A man devoted to Swadharma can never act arbitrarily disregarding social

welfare, harmony and freedom. As long as the individual pursues Swadharma he is sovereign and when society maintains dharma it is also sovereign. That is, the individual and society are sovereign in to their respective fields of activity. The individual is helpful to society and society too facilitates conditions for the individual to perform his Swadharma. Thus with mutual understanding and assistance the individual and society expand their freedom and fulfithe purpose of life.

Economically, Swadharma is indentical. with renunciation. It discourages acqui sitive instinct and stands for functional equality. Swadharma becomes purified by sacrifice. The Gita says, sacrifice is rooted in action,"19 The Gita ordains one and all to perform sacrifice without attach. ment for the welfare of society. Sacrifice is distributive and disseminative in nature. The worker must offer his labour as sacrifice, the rich his prosperity, the wise his knowledge to the community without expecting the fruit of reward. "Thus there is no real distinction between the way of renunciation and the way of duty performed. The rennnciation and true performance of work are identical, the essence of both being the giving up of personal desire."20 The spirit of the renunciation of the fruits of work elininates national backwardness and fosters the spirit of social The nationalists. unity and self-reliance. particularly. Gandhiji, interpreted selfreliance in terms of the Swadeshi economic programme. Gandhiji intensified the Swadeshi programme to end economic poverty and dependence. He even equated .Swadharma with Swadeshi. "What the Gita savs with regard to Swadharma equally appdies to Swadeshi also, for Swadeshi is

Swdharma applied to one's imediate environment."21

Politically, alien rule is the antithesis of Swadharma and corrodes it. It suppresses the gung and individuality of the nation. It contains initiative and suffocates individual and national growth. Destruction of Swadharma implies destruction of self-rule. Swarai. Therefore, Swarai is inseparable from Swodharma. "Without Swara it is impossible to follow Swadharma. it is impossible to make free moral decisions, it is impossible to fulfil the purpose of life. Conversely, without Swadharma. Swaral is meaningless for though the individual has self rule, the ability to make free moral decisions he has no ethical basis. no standard by which to judge the morality of actions and thus no way in in which to fulfil the purpose of his life." 22

The extreme nationalist subordinated the lower to the higher ideal i. e... Swaraj for Dharma Rajya. Swaraj needs a higher ideal of survival and Dharma Rajya requires the protection of Swaraj. Swaraj defends Dharma Raja and Dharma Rajya in its turn leads Swaraj to perfection. Thus the one is imponderable without the other. "Swaraj is implicit in Dharma Rajya: Dharma Rajya is implicit in Swaraj. In the Indian theory of the 'right ordering' of the community, the one may not exist without the other; the purpose of life may not be fulfilled without both."24

#### RESISTANCE

To the Gita righteousness is an end in itself. It insists on establishing Dharma (righteousness) on a firm basis. 25 The

Gita which upholds righteousness does not approve of a stagnant, unjust, tyrannical and immoral rule of society. As such it velcomes change, social and political, for apiritual progress even by revolution. According to Panikkar, the Gita emphasia zes "that social institutions are liable to decay and petrification when the original values are lost sight of and social chaos follows as a result of which the purpose behind social organisation begin to be misunderstood or misinterpreed. At such times qualitative change or revolution according to the Gita immortalises the defenders of dharma by saying that a rightecus war is an open door to heaven. 27 Is harangues that even the weak must take ur cudgels to defend dharma. It ridicules the non-resisters as cowards, for it prefers death to infamy, 28 However, it advises the individul to become a Sthitha Pragna, 29 who oters resistance without passion or prejudice, to minimise or avoid violence. The nature and time of resistance, according to the Gita, is to be decided by the incividual himself depending on the conditrans of society. According to Lokamanya Tilak it is the individual duty "from the point of universal welfare, to take such retaliatory action, for the purpose of preventing the predominance of wrong-doors and the consequent persecution of the weak in the world (Gi: 3-25) and the summary of the entire teaching of the Gita is that even the most horrible warfare which may be carried on m these circumstances, with an equable state of mind, is righteous and meritorious. 30 As the fighter is Sthitha Pragna the technique of resistance to evil will always be mcral, rational and above all in the general interests of the community.

As regards the Indian freedom move-

ment, the Gita's technique of resistance left an indelible impression on the nationalists. As the British regime was imperialistic. oppressive and exploitative, the nationalist determined to offer resistance to it. The Gita's concept of uncompromising resistance to evil was interpreted by them. according to their mental make up. The terrorists understood it in terms of violence. the extreme nationalists in terms of passive resistance any boycott and Gandhiji in terms of non-violent resistance. author of the Gita never advocated war or violence. Fight, without anger and passion, can only be spiritual." 31 Had not Gandhi arrived, armed with his unique technique-soul-force, the freedom movement would have been protracted leading to internecine violence. His right understanding of the Gita's technique of spiritual resistance yielded the desired result and gave the country an imperishable legacy of nonviolent resistance to evil. Thus the means purified the end.

The Gita's philosophy of nationalism, which envisages faith in national individuality, selfless activity, Swadharma and resistance to evil, applies to all countries at all times. Its nationalism is peaceful, defensive and righteous. It envisages militant defence of national individuality but not in a militant career of conquest. It promotes universal peace and freedom, for it makes the nation self-restraining, self-enjoying and self-perfecting. In other words, it advocated a combination of nationl unity and determinate selfless activity, where the scripture is followed and applied in day-to.day life, and where detached knowledge and activity function together, for there national prosperity victory, glory, morality and righteousness stand assured. This is the firm conviction

of a nationalist. Just as Arjuna, the wielder of the Gandhiva, listened in rapture to the celestial voice of Sri Krishna, the Lord of the Yoga, so will the dejected and enslaved nation attempt to enlighten herself when solving her problems and in the performance of her duties and responsibilities.

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# PASSE-T-ELLE POEMES DE MARKO RISTIC

IV.

IV

Pardonnez-moi Madame
Vous etes trop elégante
Sans souci
Robe hochet robe hachette
J'achéte cet orange
Et ce citron paradisiaque
Fenetre ouverte

Excuse me Madame
You are too elegant
So carefree
Your swinging clinging dress
I buy this orange
And this paradisiac citron
A window open wide

### LET US NOT ABANDON UNESCO

#### Dr. BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The United Nations' Educational. Scientific and Cultural organization based in Paris is one of the most precious and cherished institutions of mankind founded since World War II. There are no other comparable institutions that do creative multi-faceted work. It's stability should be assured, especially by the Super Powers, if not by the big economic powers of the world. Recently mankind was saddened by the U.S. A. abandoning it's traditional membership in the UNESCO and, the United Kingdom has also announced it's intention to withdraw her membership from this World organization. She is an original founding member like the U.S.A.

Unesco is an intergovernmental organization with 161 Member States and three Associate Members. The Holy See participates as an observer in a number of its activities.

The General Conference, to which observers from all governmental and non-governmental organizations are invited, is made up of representatives of the Member States. It has sovereign power to determine Unesco's policies, the programme, and vote the budget, deciding upon the Organization's

Medium-Term Plan every six years and adopting its programme and budget every other year.

The Executive Board, whose members are elected by the General Conference, is responsible to it for the execution of the programme.

The Secretariat, which is placed under the authority of the Director-General-himself appointed by the General Conference-carries out the General Conference's decisions. The Director-General reports periodically to the governing bodies on the execution of the programme and the management of the Organization's funds. He also submits proposals concerning Unesco's programme and budget, but the final decisions, rest with the General Conference alone.

Unesco's primary purpose, in fact, is to develop intellectual co-operation among nations. It serves as a forum for the activities of the mind-education, science, culture, information and communication-and promotes exchanges of ideas and knowledge in these fields. Hence, among other things, the research the Organization carries out itself or entrusts to various institutions; the

Dr. Buddhadasa P. Kirthisinghe—Representative Maha Bodhi Societies of India Sri Lanka, and the World Fellowship of Buddhists; Honorary Minister, American Buddhist Academy, New York, N.Y, U.S.A.

meetings, seminars and symposia that it organizes, bringing together specialists from all over the world; and the books, periodicals and documents that it publishes and distributes, on a worldwide scale. The fact that of all the agencies of the United Nations systems, it is Unesco that currently has the largest number of Member States, demonstrates the importance they attach to it.

Unesco preamble States that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed', and, under the heading Purposes and Functions', that 'the purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture...' It is within these three specific nelds that Unesco carries out its action for peace and disarmament, thus approaching these matters from an angle entirely different from that of the United Nations or the Geneva Conference.

Unesco does not advocate censorship, licensing of journalists and 'codes of conduct' for the press.

There seems to be some misunderstanding on the organization of news dispatches from the Third World countries. Although the UNESCO has not organized any news dispatch form of service from under-developed lands, the developed lands like America, Russia and England seems to have a big grip on them. So this fear is based on misunderstandings rather than on realities. In the meantime, the Third World lands may have noticed an improvement of news dispatches from their own lands. which they could not have expected ever before.

Keith Geiger, Vice President of the National Education Association, said his group believed that without Unesco, there was no substitute programme to address the education needs of the world's children.

The part which was most concerned by the U. S. Government does not seem to be working or has been dropped in the communication sec ion supportedly.

"Anti-western bias has ebbed over the past two years, however, and much of the most controversial work of the division has been discarded or de-emphasised. The studies, seminars and meetings still ongoing are being carried out in a more objective evenhanded manner. The Second Medium Term Plan, adopted in December, 1983, eliminated some of the most controversial material.

"Some of the new material in the Plan, moreover, provides a basis for programmes which reflect U. S. and Western values: for example the 'watchdog role of the press'; the view that government censorship is an important obstacle to the free flow of information; and the notion that independent media are important in defending human rights."

Thus one could state the U. S. has misunderstood the important work of the UNESCO. A great super power and the European powers need the goodwill and understanding of mankind and we of the developing non-aligned world hope that America will not abandon her historical role in the world.

Mr. Amadon-Mahtar M'Bow-Director-General of UNESCO stated, "The human community stands today at a particularly distressing turning-point in its history", he

said. "Economic difficulties are putting increasing obstacles in the way of international co-operation. The problems confronting industrialized countries make them less sympathetic to the situation of the developing countries and less willing to support the efforts of these countries, which are often obliged to abandon projects essential to their progress."

"People are becoming less and less open to argument and increasingly inclined to mistrust". Mr. M'Bow continued: "The values of solidarity, justice and tolerance, which the international community supported shortly after the Second World War and saw as the main bastions of peace against the return of the forces of hatred and war. appear to be tragically disregarded. Military condicts are growing in number and extent and casting the threatening shadow of war overvwhere. As humanity slides a little further each day towards the unknown, those who work unsparingly for the triumph of freedom, justice and progress throughout the world, seem more and more to be poets of Utopia, impossible dreamers."

"it is more than ever urgent", the Director-General concluded, "to unite for the principles of tolerance and wisdom, for the ideals of justice and solidarity, and for progressive action which the international community has unanimously adopted and which Unesco has embodied since its foundation."

From these words of the Directer-General of the UNESCO, it is quite apparent
that he is carrying on the mandate given to
him by the Executive board, which grants
power to him to run the UNESCO. Therefore, to blame him (the Director-General)
for any aspect of programes for the

benefit of mankind is unjust.

The voting procedure at the UNESCO is very democratic while the United Nations Security Council is different, where some powers have a veto power-which makes the U. N. Security Council a helpless peacekeeping body. On the other hand at the UNESCO, all members big and small have an equal vote and thus no big or small power can dominate its activities. This makes some big powers who give large annual contributions feel frustrated, as they feel their voices are not heard and respected enough.

in an international institute like the UNESCO display of pomp and power by any nation would be deeply resented by the representatives of all lands, small or large, at the UNESCO headquarters. Most of the work which is done for the good of humanity could be achieved diplomatically rather than with sabre rattling. Goodwill can be generated by the appointment of competent envoys to the UNESCO, like the appointment of General Walters as U.S. Ambassador to the U. N. who has within a few months, created a congenial atmosphere in the U.N. for America-since his appointment, than the former U. S. Ambassador It is called quiet who preceeded him. diplomacy.

By the year 1987-88, there will be imminent governmental changes in the U. S. A., and the U. K. and hopefully by then a new Director-Genaral for the UNESCO may have to be chosen, which may help to lure back to the membership the supper power America and her ally U. K., to the UNESCO. This may help to re-invigorate this world institute to serve mankind even better.

# PASSE-T-ELLE POEMES DE MARKO RISTIC

V

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La rigueur est nice

Par une autre rigueur

Diagonale

Mais le coeur

Dans cette maison est de saison

Et l'ardeur est de rigueur

Dans cette raison

Apollinarienne

Rigour is denied

By another diagonal

Rigour

But the heart

In this house is in season

And ardour is de rigeur

In this Apollinarian

Reason

#### EXPORT STRATEGY—ISSUES FOR THE EIGHTIES:

Dr. B. R. S. GUPTA

The decade of Eighties promises to be a difficult one for India's foreign trade. With the steeply rising oil import bill and a distinct slowdown in the pace of inward remittances, the balance of payments position is likely to become extremely difficult. Yet our export effort seems to be flattering. Some hard thinking is clearly called for on the measures needed to promote exports if the trade deficit in the coming years is to be within manageable limits and proportions.

India's export performance in the postindependence era has not been particularly good. Although exports crossed the Rs. 6,000 crores mark in 1979-80, our share in the global export dipped to a bare 0.46% in 1979 from 2.41% in 1948. During the Seventies exports quadrupled but this growth must be viewed in the context of the quintupling of global exports during the same period. On the current showing, our exports will not be sufficient even to pay for our crude oil import bill which has risen forty fold during the same period. Whatever rise in exports took place in the first half of the seventies stemmed largely from ad-hoc measures and fortuitous circumstances. It could be sustained as the decade progressed. import bill for oil threatens to rise significantly from Rs. 5220 crores (P) in the current year to touch a staggering figure of Rs. R. 8400 crores by 1984-85, even if the

quantum of oil imports is pegged at the current level. There is an imperative need to achieve a sizeable export surplus on a sustained basis. Apart from a coherent export policy, backed by adequate infrastructural facilities, high-level technology and agressive marketing, what, is needed is sufficient export management. New avenues are opening up in the areas of joint ventures. tura-key projects, joint production projects and consultancy in the third world countries. There is an immense potential to be tapped for a large number of products in the Gulf. in the AfroAsian markets and in Latin America apart from the scope for deeper penetration into the markets of the developed countries.

Taking an overview of India's exports in the global setting, it may be emphasised that the country has the potential for massive expansion in exports. It can thus participate in the opportunities and the challenges that international markets hold today. Our foreign trade in the eighties may face difficulties and challenges as well as opportunities dwarfing those of the preceding three-decades.

In the wake of the mounting oil import bill in which oil alone now accounts for the more than 50 percent of the total value of the imports, there is an imperative need for the country to bring about a sizeable expansion of our exports. At the present moment them is a need for stable policy. All the pre-requisites which are necessary for creating un export environment have been enshrined in the Export Policy Resolution-1970. Bt present a new approach of export management is needed.

There is a technology gap between us and the world where we possess a big potential. Our technology in these areas may be appropriate and adequate for our need but not for exports where updated technology is necessary for both quality and competive prices abroad.

We have all along treated our exports as an instrument to pay for imports but have not considered these in terms of spreading throughout the world. There are no doubt constrainst on exporting more; as yet these exports form a small share of the GNP. Exports, in other words, should be developed so that we are able to meet the import bill.

exploration within the country which has been somewhat neglected in the past. There is also a good scope for fuel economy at all levels and also need to look upon our own alternative sources of energy from coal, water, power and forests. What is emphasised is the need for proper management of energy.

We should also take active steps to reduce avoidable imports. Sometime ago, we used to export edible oils which are being imported. We also used to export steel and cement which are being imported. Fertiliser imports need to be reduced and capacity utilisation in the power sector

should be improved. All these taken together would save us nearly Rs. 2,000 crores.

The bill for oil imports will soon be more then 100% of our exports. There is no other way to meet this situation than to reduce oil consumption by using other means of energy such as coal which luckily we have in good supply. Other avenues such as solar energy should be used. There is a very good scope for the development of hydro-energy in the Himalayas but this requires very difficult handling on political level, specially with Nepal.

We have reached a stage where exports have to be made to play a positive role in maintaining the tempo of economic growth. We have talking about export promotion for nearly two decades now but little has been done to build up a stable and viable export production base and suppportive infrastructure facilities to cope effectively with growing export demand.

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Supply constraints and infrastructural bottelenecks, have therefore become stumbling blocks to our export effort as an integral part of the total production programme in the export oriented sectors. We cannot merely depend on the generation of the exportable surpluses for sustaining speedy export growth commensurate with our resources and capability.

It is necessary to make a deliberate production plan and to earmark a part of production for exporting even if there is pressure of domestic demand on export supplies.

The bold and imaginative policy recently announced by the government to give a fillip to export production will hopefully

go a long way in stimulating investment for export production, provided it is assured that these policies will remain fairly stable at least for a period long enough to ensure an adequate return on the investment made or export production.

Export production will never be a success unless export entrepreneurship is developed by providing necessary facilities for and safeguards to investment and making export an attractive and profitable business proposition. Today's crucial need is to promote export entrepreneurship in order to expand and diversify the export production base. Such a base is an inescapable 'must' for overcoming supply constraints.

Furthermore, it must be recognised that mere expansion of capacity for export production is not enough; it must be based

on appropriate technology so that the products turned out from our factories can withstand competition in the world markets. Greater effort is needed to upgrade our technology in several manufacturing sectors to the international level. While talking of technology, we should also keep in mind the need for upgradation of packaging standards. Packaging is an integral part of the product and an important element of success in exports.

Another approach that should be adopted to bring about an expansion of export production is to give a strong push to foreign trade zones. We are taking full advantage of foreign trade zones to augment our export earnings. India's position in trying to develop such zones is unique in many respects. These zones will also provide an added incentive for the growth of export entrepreneurship.



### PASSE-T-ELL E

### POÉ MES DE MARKO RISTIC

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VI

Rubis rageurs

Norrs

Points finals finauds

De ce qui est sans fin

Fern\_e

Cet autre ciel

Inutifisable

Enferme

Encacre de rousses ruses

Du vezitable ciel

Vie

Spitfire rubies

Black

Cunning stops

Of endlessness

This other heaven

Closed

Useless

Enclosed

Encased in russet wiles

By the real heaven

Denied

### Current Affairs

REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENTS
RESTRUCTURING CITY TAXES: THE
EFFECTS ON BUSINESS
AND HOUSEHOLD TAX BURDENS

Kalman Goldberg and Robert C. Scott
Write:

Financially troubled cities have been altering their tax structures by reducing reliance upon property taxes and substituting sales taxes for the needed revenue. In medium size cities (population between 100,000 and 199,999) the ratio of property to sales tax receipts dropped from 8.01 in 1974 to 2.58 in 1982. For the largest cities in the nation (population over 1 million) the ratio for the same years, dropped from 4.35 to I.58. Some of the change undoubtedly reflects a deterioration of the property tax base in central cities. However, there has been a deliberate policy effort to switch to the general and selective sales tax as a more important source i of local government revenue. Before undertaking a tax change, city policymakers must be prepared to respond to questions about efficiency and equity. How will the tax change alter economic behavior (efficiency)? How does the change in the distribution of the tax burden affect fairness of the city's tax stru-(equity)? The objectives of the restructuring are to induce businesses to remain within the city, to entice new firms, and to shift a larger portion of the tax

burden to suburban free-riders. This policy assumes that the adverse effects on residential and business location and shopping are greater from property taxes than from sales taxes. It also assumes that the sales tax burden falls more heavily on noncity residents than does the property tax. Therefore, there are benefits for efficiency as well as gains in equity to be realized by city dwellers as a whole from tax restructuring.

However, property and sales taxes affect differently city residents with different income, property, and consumption expenditures levels. Using the ability-to pay standard of equity, policymakers must examine the effects of a tax restructuring program on the redistribution of the burden among its residents.

The City of Peoria, Illinois (a home rule city) enacted a 1-percent sales tam increase effective in 1984. To ease the burden on low income families, it exempted food and drugs; to avoid relocation of firms selling big-ticket items, such as automobiles, it exempted purchases on sales of more than \$500. The proceeds from tax will be rebated to property owners. The objective of the tax restructuring, therefore is not to increase revenue but to shift more of the tax burden from property to sales and, thereby, from residents to non-residents.

We undertook to estimate the division of the city's tax burden before and after this change among (1) city residents and nonreesidents; (2) city residents in different income classes: and (3) city businesses of different types. The resulting computer. simulation program permits any city to enter data specific to it and to estimate the consequences of possible tax changes for them. The program also allows for the inclusion of a city income tax. This article reviews the basic features of the program as it was applied to the city of Peoria. The distribution of the existing (1981) tax burden is estimated, and then the incidence effects of tax restructuring is simulated. The study did not undertake to estimate the effects on location decisions.

## TAX INCIDENCE BEFORE RESTRUCTURING

The taxpayer chosen for study is the average household in each of 33 census tracts in the city of Peoria. This permits an examination of the effects of taxes on typical households over a wide range of income levels, geographically dispersed within the city.

The average property tax was computed for the average household in each of 33 census tract from Peoria County records. The average income figures are those reported by the Bureau of the Census. The sales tax for each average census tract household is based on its consumption expenditures and these were derived from survey results conducted by the Bradley University Institute for Urban Affairs and Eusiness Research.

The real burden of a tax is not necessarily the amount that a household

appears to pay. Property and sales taxes can be shifted Households property and sales taxes on their federal income tax returns, and this saves them tax money at the expense of the federal government. Businesses do the same. In addition, businesses shift all or part of their property taxes to their customers in their prices. Similarly, enterprises subject to the sales tax levy pass this on to their customers. In order to measure the effects of Peoria taxes on households, it is necessary to determine how much they really pay. in contrast to how much they are billed in taxes. Therefore, the study traces the shifting patterns: the amount the average household in each census tract avoids and the amount businesses in Peoria pass on to households when they make purchases. Once the actual tax payments, property and sales, are measured, the true burdenwhat percentage of a household's income is taken-can be determined.

#### PROPERTY TAX

The property taxes levied on business. enterprises are shifted to others except for a small portion. Taxes are deducted from state and federal tax declarations as a business expense, and the remainder is included in selling prices and thus paid by buyers of their products. Based on surveys, information provided by business firms, and shifting assumptions, we estimated that commercial enterprises shift about 78 percent of the property tax levied on them. the business owners bearing the remaining 22 percent. Industrial enterprises shift about 83 percent with owners bearing about 17 percent. Railroad and utility companies shift a full 100 percent since, as regulated monopolies, there are no competitors to limit their abilty to pass on tax costs in the prices they charge....

Consequently, after accounting for all shifting, the true burden on Peoria businesses resulting from the property tax is considerably less than the tax levied on them would seem to indicate. The actual property tax a household pays depends on how much it can avoid through shifting by federal income tax deductions and how much its consumption of Peoria-produced products results in taxes being shifted to it. Table 2 shows the impact of property taxes on three typical families in the city (low income, middle income, and high income) through the tax bill levied, the amount each shifts through federal income tax deductions, the amount shifted by business to them through their purchases, and the actual net amount each pays as a result of this shifting. Note that the lowest income household ends up paying more (\$20.72) in property taxes than the tax bill it received would indicate. In contrast, the middle aud higher income households gain from shifting (\$10.11 and \$92.39). The low income household pays 13.4 percent more than it was billed while the highest income household pays 20 percent less. These differences are traceable to the fact that higher income groups can shift more of their tax to the federal government since they are in progressively higher marginal tax brackets and they itemize more often and that commercial and utility property taxes that are shifted take a smaller proportion of income from higher income households. Higher income groups spend a smaller portion of their income on consumption. Therefore, although they spend more money on goods and pay more of the shifted taxes, this comprises a smaller

percentage of their income....

Because of shifting the true source of each dollar of tax receipts of the city is much different from what the allocation of the levy indicates. In 1980, the city levied about 32 percent of its property tax on business enterprises and 68 percent on residential property. However, as Table 3 shows, businesses actually paid only about 6½ cents of each tax dollar the city received; households accounted for 65 cents; and a significant portion, about 29 cents, was paid by federal and state governments and nonresidents.

#### SALES TAX

This study assumes that the 1-percent city sales tax, levied on business enterprises, is shifted entirely to consumers. Peoria residents pay the sales tax in proportion to their purchases. However, they deduct it on their federal income tax return, thereby shifting a portion of it. Nonresidents purchase goods from Peoria merchants and, as a consequence, contribute to city sales tax revenue. Of each sales tax dollar received by the city after shifting, city households actually pay about 40 cents; the federal government pays about 5 cents through revenue lost by deductions, and nonresidents pay about 55 cents....

The impact of the sales tax on Peoria households is uneven, and its incidence is highly regressive. (Table 3 Next Page)

The tax paid as a proportion of income declines as income increases. This regressive result is true before shifting and becomes even more pronounced after shifting. Lower income households spend a larger portion of their income on taxable

Table 3

emitting .	in Peoria,	llinois	in 1981
·	)		,
			67.69
			32,49
	~		
			64.89
		6.5%	
		58.3%	-
			6.49
		,	
*. • • •	~	·	7.29
,	•		20.39
	•	9 30/	20.37
•		,	
			1.3%

consumer goods and, as a consequence, a greater proportion of their income goes to the sales tax. Also, because their income is low, they are less able to shift the tax as a deduction, even if they do itemize on their federal tax return....

#### CONCLUSIONS

The city of Peoria tax structure, typical of local governments, relies heavily on property and sales taxes and is highly regressive.

However, the total amount of income that is paid in property and sales taxes to the city is not enormous. It ranges from 2.5 percent of the income of the property households to only about 1.3 percent for the higher income households.

Only about 35 percent of the total property tax bill of city residents is levied by the city of Peoria, the rest representing the levies of the many other taxing units of which city dwellers are also a part. This suggests that tax relief is only partially within the control of the city.

Nevertheless, the incentive to substistute sales for property taxes is clear—it permits a city to export a larger share of its tax burden to nonresidents. The extent to which the central city is exploited by freeriders is significantly reduced. Added to this are the usual reasons. Sales taxes are psychologically easier to pay and are income elastic. The property tax, in contrast, places a greater burden on the declining city tax base, particularly on residences.

The extent of the gain to city dwellers from the tax restructuring depends on the assumptions about shifting, the industrial structure, and the basic/service ratio of its business base. For example, if smaller proportions of the property tax are shifted and if owners reside in the city. the case for switching to a sales tax becomes even more compelling. On the other hand, if the proportion of commercial export sales are smaller than those measured for Peoria the switch becomes less advantageous. In this city, about 29 percent of property tax revenues, but about 60 percent of sales tax revenues, are from noncity sources. In this study, generous shifting assumptions were made, reducing the city burden of property taxes and thereby understating the case for tax restructuring.

Changing the tax structure by reducing the property tax rate and substituting a higher sales tax to recoup the revenue has two significant results. First, the effect of the combined taxes becomes more regressive. Some relief is available to lower income households if food and drugs are exempt, but if adverse efficiency consequences are avoided by exempting major durables, regressivity is accentuated. The regressivity of the tax-structure change more pronounced itself becomes even because lower income households are less able to offset it. The higher households live close to the borders and have automobile transportation, permitting them to escape the higher sales tax while enjoying the lower property tax. opposite, of course, is true of the center city, poorer households. Second, the absolute burden on all but the lowest income households declines. Most residents, regardless of income level, pay less

taxes because a larger proportion of the city's total tax is shifted to nonresidents. It is possible, therefore, to restructure taxes so that city residents would pay the same total (less property taxes and more sales taxes) while the city would realize a net gain, derived from the increase through the sales tax on nonresidents. The advantage of the total revenue gain to the city must be weighed against the further shift in burden of the city tax share to the poor. And one would have to be confident that the revenue gain would be sufficient and that the long-run efficiency effect would not be detrimental.

-Illinois Business Review October, 1984

## CHINA'S LONG MARCH TOWARDS FULL EMPLOYMENT

To tackle the employment problems of its enormous labour force-whose ranks are increased by 3 million newcomers every year. China has worked out a series of principles, policies and measures to reinvigorate the economy, promote production and open up more avenues to jobs.

In 1982, China had a total working population of 447 million, of which 1:2.8 million were employees of state-run as well as collective enterprises, 1.4 million were self-employed in cities and towns and 3:2.7 million were rural labourers either in collective units or in individual undertakings.

"Thus it can be seen that 75 per cent of China's total labour force was in the countryside," Yue Guanzhao, Director, Institute of Labour Studies, Ministry of Labour and Personnel Affairs, observes in his recent assessment of the situation drawn up espe-

cially for ILO Information.

In solving the employment problem of the rural labour force. China has taken an entirely different road from that chosen by many countries in the West.

Where once Chinese peasants were engaged almost exclusively in agricultural production, now with the growth of rural population and the improvement of farming technology, there will be an inevitable trend to an ever larger rural labour force moving into non-agricultural sectors.

"Under our present conditions, surplus reral labour need not turn to large and medium sized cities for employment but rather find jobs in widely spaced small towns that are gradually coming into being with the development of rural processing, beilding and service industris, banking and incurance services, commerce and culture, education and public health facilities," Mr Yue explains.

Building small towns is a strategic issue in China and they are expected to become political, economic and cultural centres of rural areas and to play an important role as a link in boosting urban and rural economies.

#### GOVERNMENT HELP

The government is encouraging and supporting the development of collective and private enterprises by, for example, grarting loans, providing workshop equipment at reduced prices and granting income tax exemption for the first two to three years after the start of production. As a result, Mr Yue points out, the total number of workers in urban collectives had reached

26.5 million by the end of 1982, a net increase of 6 million over the 1978 figure. By the end of 1983, there were 13 times as many self-employed people as in 1978.

The government has also increased the ratio of capital investment in light industry from 12.6 per cent of the total industrial investment in the Fifth Five-Year-Plan to about 20 per cent in the Sixth Five-Year-Plan. In 1981, when the total net increase of workers in all industries was 2.2 million, 78.5 per cent were employed in light industry.

With emphasis being placed on the development of the commercial and service sectors in recent years, Mr Yue says that "by the end of 1982, all kinds of stores, restaurants and services, had mushroomed to 4.1 million, over 2 million more than existed in 1978, and the number of employees had reached 18.1 million, almost twice as many as the 1978 figure."

The unified administration of urban employment is being facilitated by the recent emergence of the labour service company. Some of these companies were established with funds allocated by government labour departments and others by factories. China now has a total of more then 20,000 labour service companies at various levels, which have provided jobs and/or training to 5.7 million jobs seekers.

Mr Yue points out that since the adoption of these various employment policies, considerable success has been achieved throughout the country: from 1979 to 1983, a total of 39 million people were newly employed in cities and towns, of whom almost 1 million had started their own

business; in 1983, 3.8 million people were employed, 58 per cent either by collective enterprises or in their own business.

#### YOUTH AND TRAINING

However, Mr Yue sees training as one of the major challenges of the future, not only upgrading the skills of employed workkers, but also providing suitable vocational training for young secondary school-leavers who find themselves unemployable because they lack the qualifications needed to fill available vacancies. Less than 10 per cent of secondary school graduates receive further education. This means. Mr Yue emphasises, that the remaining 90 per cent need jobs. "Our government is conducting a pilot reform on the structure of secondary school education with a view to steadily transforming some secondary schools into vocational schools so that more students can have access to the necessary vocational training,"

Summing up, Mr Yue says: "At present our national economy has embarked on a road of healthy development and we have formulated effective principles, policies, and measures to stimulate employment. We shall further carry out the policy of the co-existence of various economic forms and multi-employment channels and vigorously develop the production of consumer goods in light industry and accelerate the development of service industries. China's employment problem will be solved step by step."

ILO Information
October 1984

## INFLATION RETREATING EXCEPT IN THIRD WORLD

High rates of inflation, so recently the scourge of economies throughout the world.

are disappearing in advanced industrialised countries but stubbornly linger and continue to increase in many of the countries of the developing world.

This additional disparty between the North and South was identified in an ILO survey of the movement of the General Consumer Prices Indices in 1982 and 1983 for 73 countries: 13 in Africa, 21 in the Americas, 14 in Asia, 20 in Europe and five in Oceania.

While in over half these countries the inflation rate dropped, for most of those suffering severe rates of 20 per cent and over inflation was higher in 1983 than in 1982, according to ILO statistician, Miskhin Khin Nu, who carried out the survey.

Argentina topped the list with the highest rate of inflation in 1983, 433.7 per centmore than double its 1982 rate of 209.7 per cent-followed by Bolivia with 328.5 per cent which also represented an increase over its mark of 296.5 per cent which was the highest in 1982, and Israel, 191 per cent, up from 131.3 per cent.

Japan continued to show the way in the fight against inflation with a 1983 rate of 1.75 per cent, down slightly from 1.8 per cent in 1982. Switzerland registered a appreciable drop to 2.1 per cent in 1983 from 5.5 per cent in 1982 and was followed by the Federal Republic of Germany with 2.6 per cent, down from 4.5 per cent.

Almost all countries in Western Europe managed to control inflation with the Netherlands and Austria also in the lowest category, registering 3.1 per cent and 38.

per cent respectively in 1983 which represented a decline in rates for both countries. A drop to 4.5 per cent in 1983 from 9.3 per cent in 1982 put Canada in this low category and the United States managed to bring its 3.9 per cent rate in 1982 down slightly to 3.8 per cent in 1983.

#### SIX EXCEPTIONS

Rare exceptions to the rising doubles cigit inflation in developing countries were rates below 5 per cent reported in the Eahamas, Cyprus, Panama, Puerto Rico, the Syrian Arab Republic and Thailand.

In Africa, only Kenya, Madagascar, Reunion and Tunisia reported drops in inflation rates while the majority of African countries continued to struggle with increasingly higher inflation ranging from 12.5 per cent in Morocco to 38.7 per cent in Nigeria.

In Asia, countries other than Japan where inflation rates declined included Iran, the Republic of Korea, Kuwait and the Syrian Arab Republic. In Sri Lanka they jumped to 21.4 per cent in 1983 from 5.4 per cent-the previous year and they doubled in Bangladesh from 4.9 per cent to 10.6 per cent.

In Latin America high inflation rates prevailed also in 1983 for Ecuador, with 52.5 per cent in 1983, a sharp increase from 24.5 per cent in 1982; Uruguay where the respective rates were 51.5 per cent and 20.5 per cent, and Chile where the 1983 rate of 23.1 per cent was only marginally more than 20.7 per cent in 1982. Mexico's high rate of 30.8 per cent in 1983 represented a decine; however, from 98.9 in 1982 and Brazil's inflation dropped substantially from 94.6 per cent in 1982 to 35.7 per cent in 1982.

In the three East European countries for which figures were made available, inflation rates varied widely in 1983. Hungary registered the lowest with 5.2 per cent, followed by Poland with 18.2 per cent and Yugoslavia with the highest of 60.8 per cent.

—I. L. O. 4. October.

Source: Bulletin of Labour Statistics, ILO, Geneva, 1984. (The rates of infittion have been calculated by comparing consumer price indices of December 1982 and December 1983.)

#### RESEARCH INTO MINE SAFETY

Greater safety and more efficiency in the coal industry is the aim of Australian Government-funded research into methanes gas drainage from mines.

Gas drainage is a technique by which gas is extracted from the coal seam and taken to the surface. This reduces the risk of outbursts of gas and coal at the works face the possibility of explosions and fires. It markedly reduces the problems of ventilation and improves productivity.

The project has proved extremely effective in reducing the methane concentration in the mine working area and the risk of outbursts. As a result, more coal can be won. Recovery has been increased and operating costs have been reduced. Subject to market availability the mine, West Cliff Colliery in New South Wales, is now able to mine in a year up to one million tonnes more of the export coking coal. A pilot plant has been installed to use vented methane to generate electicity.

Australian Information Service

#### GARDEN-WASTE SHREDDER

Gardeners will be able to convert garden rubbish into soil-enriching mulch by using a cheap portable device invented by a South Australian lawnmower serviceman, Kenneth Schuppan. The attachment fits under conventional rotary mowers and uses the blades to shred organic matter into garden-ready mulch. An additional power unit is not required, which gives the device a significant cost advantage over other shredding systems.

Australian Information Service

#### NEW-STYLE DESALINATION SYSTEM

Australian engineers have developed a continuous magnetic ion-exchange system for desalting large amounts of brackish water by using specially treated resins in a process sought unsuccessfully in other parts of the world for about 30 years.

The demonstration plant, with a production capacity of one million L of potable water per day, is capable of desalting enough brackish water to supply a town of up to 10,000 people with sufficient cooking, drinking and washing water for a year.

The system—Sirotherm—is a joint project between Australia's Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), Perth's Metropolitan Water Authority (MWA) and private industry. The system uses magnetised ion-exchange resins, specially developed by the CSIRO and ICI, to lift the salt from brackish water and a hot-water process removes the salt.

A major advantage of the process over other desalination system is its capability for continuous regeneration. The plant never has to be shut down and this gives it a great merit in operating simplicity and improved operating economics. Another benefit is that it only uses cheap low-grade heat in its operation and if necessary it could use solar heat for some stages.

Australian Information Service Science and Culture, November, 1984

SAWED ELEPHANT BONE UNEARTHED FROM BARASAT, 24 PARGANAS, W. B. : REMINISCENCE OF ANCIENT IVORY CARVING IN BENGAL

Sometime in 1981, bones of some animals were unearthed from a depth of about 6.02 m from the surface during renovation of a pond in Gazitola, Debalaya, 24-Parganas. Among others, a large fragment of a limb bone caught the attention of the people of the locality and so subsequently it was sent to me for identification by the Director of the collection of antiquities from Chandraketugarh. Some archaeic objects like Sunga coins, potteries and figurines were also found in close association with the bones in the site of excavation. Therefore, the bone appears to be nearly 2000 years old.

The sawed-bone piece was the distall end of left femur of a very big elephant. It is reminiscent of the fact that ivory or bone carving was a traditionally old industry in Bengal or Gour-Bango. Craftsmen generally discard such condylar bones for their irregular shape and rough texture.

From the dimension of the bone, it appears that the elephant concerned was very

big and probably it was a male specimen. It is comparable with the large mounted skeleton in the Indian Museum which has a record height of 3.86 m, at the shoulder. The girth of the shaft measured at condyle is 70 cm (cf. 65 cm in Ind. Mus. specimen) and the condylar width is 25 cm. (cf. 26 cm. in Ind. Mus. Specimen). The specimen is now in the possession of Sri Dilip Maite, Director of the said collection.

India as a whole, is the pioneer country in bone, horn, ivory and conch work. Neolithic bone tools are reported from almost every where from Burzahom (Kashmir) to Arikemedu (Tamilnadu). It throws light on the skill of those primitive hunters in making pointed, barbed, hooked, serrated and perforated tools; according to various requirements. The Post-Neolithic people in latter phase started to prepare more sophisticated articles in the country like earings, bangles, necklace, combs, shieves, knives, blades and needles besides those traditional weapons and instruments.

Thereafter since 2500 B.C. (Harappan onward) till up to 1700 A.D. (Sultani and Nawabi time), the Kings and Monarchs in the country patronised the bone and ivory crafting and as a result the industry got tremen dous impetus.

The ivory caskets, chairs, footstool etc, found from Begram, Eastern Afghanistan, remind us of the skill of ancient carvers of Mathura (1st century AD). From 8th to 14th century, different artistic objects made of ivory, were exported to other countries, including, Nepal, Tibet, Burma, Ceylon and Afghanistan The famous ivory centers were situated in Delhi, Mysore, Trivancore, Bengal and Orissa.

Earlier, we got similarly sawed or chopped hones of elephants from Tamluk. ( Midnapur ) and Farakka ( Murshidabad ). It testifies that from time immemorial the people of Bengal were adept in ivory work. Consequently, ivory industries were established in different parts of the state to produce fine and artistic objects like dolls, toys. fans, combs, ornaments, dice, statuettes and many others, which occasionally fetched foreign currencies. The ivory work gained such fame that foreign traders who sailed from Saptogaon, Tamrolipta and Chittagaon never forgot to collect some of the ivory work as memento along with the famous Mosline clothes at the time of their departure.

It is worth mentioning that the elephant is the only animal which possesses solid limb bones without marrow cavities. The inner spongy bone is encircled by the outer compact bone tissue, which serves as second-rate ivory in the work. Practically the entire skeleton of an elephant is utilised by the ivory workers. By the by we may recollect the old proverb 'a dead elephant is worth a million marks'.

Manomay Ghosh

MILITARIZATION OF THE PACIFIC: WHAT NEXT?

Yuri Kuritsyn

Novosti Political Correspondent Writes:

Washington's bid to militarize the Pacific Ocean increasingly contradicts the interests

of those Pacific states which want to use that ocean for peaceful purposes only.

U. S. Congress is considering a draft treaty on the so called free association of the USA, the federated states of Micronesia and Marshall islands. If endorsed, the treaty will complete the alleged transition to independence of numerous Micronesian islands that have been for years patronized by the U. S. It will most probably be fictious independence, if only because the United States is going to be entirely responsible for the security and defence of the territories under its patronage. And that intention may mean a lot of things.

On the eight million square kilometres occupied by Micronesia Washington has developed an extensive network of airfields for strategic bombers, nuclear-powered submarine bases, nuclear and chemical weapons depots and firing ranges to test missiles and other hardware. It is in Micronesia that most of the half million U. S. servicemen, 149 warships and 1, 125 combat aircraft deployed in the Pacific are stationed. A 'free association' will allow Washington not only to leave that force intact but also to build up its military presence in that part of the world under whatever pretext it chooses fit.

The U. S. leaders do not seem to be making a secret of their plans. Speaking in Honolulu, Hawaii, sometime ago, Secretary of State George Shultz said quoting President Reagan that the U. S. policy in the Pacific was pursued from the position of strength and that while building up its navy and air force on the vast expanses of the north, west and south Pacific the U. S. was also trying to make its friends in the

area build up their military might...

It was in mid-September that the ASEAN nations reaffirmed their allegiance to a quite different idea--that of turning Southeast Asia, and consequently, the Pacific waters washing its shores, into a nuclear-free zone. A similar decision in respect of the southern part of the ocean was taken by the 13-nation South Pacific forum. One of the forum nations, New Zealand, has already closed its ports to American nuclear powered and nuclear weapon ships which earlier called freely.

As most of the pacific nations want their ocean to become a zone of peace and goodneighbourly cooperation, not an arena of confrontation and the arms race, it was only natural for them to revolt against the started rearming of the U, S. Pacific navy with new nuclear missiles and the Paris decision to continue nuclear tests on the Mururoa atoll in Polynesia.—Many people have been disabled and even died, while thousands had to leave their native ports for ever.

And now Washington suggests that the pacific nations be protected under the U, S, nuclear umbrella. Yet those nations ...do not want the Pacific to be stuffed to the corners with the carriers of ever more dangerous weapons. And they do not want to see the sinister outlines of warships and airplanes carrying nuclear missiles and bombs in their ocean.

APN 16. 9. -1984

REPRISALS BECOME TOUGHER K. Georgiyev Writes:

The regime of General Zia Ul-Haq

has started a new campaign of reprisals against the fighters for democracy in Pakistan. Military tribunals in Lahore, Rawalpindi and other cities began trials of 218 activists of opposition parties, charged with standard accusations of "subversive activity". According to observers, this is only the begining of reprisals to suppress mass action against the Pakistani regime, that has swept the whole country.

There is a growing mass indignation in the country over General Zia's reactionary policy. As a result of his efforts parliament has been destroyed and political activity has been banned; the working prople have been deprived of the right to strike and demonstrations, a tough press consorship has been introduced and drumhead court-martials are staged throughout the country. Those dissatisfied with the military rule are subjected to the most severe punishments, right up to a death-sentence. Three opponents of the regime were executed recently.

But despite reprisals an increasing number of Pakistanis come out for the abelition of military rule, for holding free parliamentary elections, the release of political prisoners and the ensuring of eles mentary civil rights. The opposition forces also sharply criticize the economic policy of the government. Denationalisation of enterprises, anti-popular agrarian state legislation and the intensive arms race lead to a reduction of GNP growth rates, a drop in resoduction in some major industries and to the worsening of the balance of payments. According to official statistics, inflation is more than 5-6 per cent. About 75 per cent of aid received annually goes to pay old debts.

The Pakistani people are also deeply indignant at the regime's foreign policy as a result of which the country is being increasingly involved in the US expansionist plans regarding South Asia and the Indian ocean. In fact, it turns into the main regional stronghold of US imperialism threatening the security of a number of countries, above all Afghanistan, India and the Persian Gulf countries.

All this leads to a still greater isolation of Pakistan in Asia, growing distrust of "peaceful" statements by its leaders. Is it possible to believe them when an undeclared war has been waged for several years against Afghanistan from the territtory of Pakistan, the greater part of the country's armed forces, equipped with modern offensive weapons supplied by the USA, are being concentrated on the borders with India and the Pakistani secret services are stepping up their subversive activity in the Indian states of Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir....

Realising that the situation becomes a complicated, General Zia is trying to maintain the belief in holding general elections in the nearest future. But international affairs analysers stress that similar assurances were repeatedly given in the past as well. Hardly having come to power as a result of a military coup in 1977, the General promised to turn over the power to the parliament in 90 days. Seven years have already passed since then.

As for the so-called plan of "transition to civil rule", worked out in Islamabad, it ultimately envisages the reservation of the President's dictatorial rights, such as the convocation and dissolution of the parliam-

ent, appointment and dismissal of the Prime Minister, exercising command over the armed forces. According to the opposition the elections which Islamabad offers to hold will become, if they are conducted, a trick aimed at legalising and perpetuating the military regime of Zia-ul Haq. And it is not fortuitous that 16 leaders of the opposition parties passed a decision that the movement for the restoration of democracy would not participate in such delections.

APN 27. 9. 1984

Issued by the Information Dept of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

USSR: PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURE

Vladimar Gurevich, APN Economic Anaalyst writes;

In spite of the fact that a major part of agricultural produce is used as raw materials in the non-food sphere, agriculture is approached above all from the point of view of meeting the food requirements of society. And the problems of the agrarian sector of the Soviet economy should be seen with due account taken of that.

Physiologically, the food problem in the Soviet Union has long been solved:

the caloric value of food supplies for the country's population is higher than those for the majority of the developed countries. According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAC), by 1980 this indicator per capita in kilocalories a day amounted to 3,443 for the USSR, 3,378 for the West European 1 countries, and 2,590 for the world as a whole.

Food prices and its availability for all social groups are an important aspect of the food situation in any country. Due to planned regulation and subsidies from the state budget of the USSR, a stable level of prices for major foodstuffs has been maintained. Thus, between 1970 and 1982 the food state retail price index has increased by as little as 9 per cent, whereas the average salaries and wages have grown by 45 per cent.

However, the incomes of the population have been growing at higher rates than the agricultural production, and hence the demand for certain foodstuffs has sharply increased. This particularly concerns animal husbandry products, as well as vegetables and fruits whose share in the population's diet is insufficient yet. Despite the fact that the consumption level per capita of the meat, milk and many other products has never been so high in the USSR as in recent years, the requirement for them is still higher than the output. That is why the national agro-industrial programme for the period until 1990 is mainly aimed at better satisfaction of the demand, and at tangibly changing the diet.

### THE MODERN REVIEW FOR NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, 1984

## CONSUMPTION OF CERTAIN FOODSTUFFS IN THE USSR (per capita in kilogrammes a year)

	1965	1980	1990
meat (and meat products)	41	58	· 70
milk (and milk products)	251	314	330-340
fish (and fish products)	12.6	17.6	19.0
vegetable oil	7.1	8.8	13 2
vegetables	<b>7</b> 2	9.7	126—135
fruits and berries	. 28	38	66—70
potatoes	142	I12	110
bread (and bread products)	156	139	115

As Valentin Mesyats, Minister of Agriculture of the USSR, has said, the key problem of the agrarian sector remains that of increasing grain production, in duding grain for state reserves and resources for export.

The average grain output in the USSR amounted to 105 million tonnes in the 1950's, the figure for the 1960's being 139 million tonnes, and that for the 1970's, 193 million tonnes. Accordingly, the annual output of grain per capita has grown from 563 kilogrammes to 785 kilogrammes. But with due account taken of the large part of grain used as fodder, which the USSR is doing to satisfy all of its economic needs, the ratio must be about 1 tonne of grain per capita a year. In the record year of 1978 this indicator was 913 kilogrammes. The target for the late 1980's is an average annual yield of 250-255 million tonnes of grain. To achieve that, the average yields per hectare must be raised by 600-700 kilogrammes higher, or up to 2.1-2.2 tonnes per hectare.

The requirement for bread grain (30-35 millon tonnes a year) is fully ensured in

the USSR in the worst years. But even in the best ones, there is the problem of fodder grain: presently about 130 milliontonnes of grain is used for the purpose annually. Hence fodder grain is the key problem. In principle, the Soviet Union's real requirement for grain will depend on the increase in the production of other types of fodder. The results achieved in 1983 testify to the not insignificant capacities in this sphere. Nevertheless, the increase in the output of fodder grain will remain an urgent problem. The use of wheat (which is the Soviet Union's key grain-crop) as fodder cannot be seen as rational. However, the country's ability to grow such effective and high-yielding crops as maize and soya is limited due to climatic conditions. Yet steps are being taken to increase their output. While in the second half of the 1970's the average annual yield of maize amounted to 9.5 million tonnes, by 1990 it is to be raised to 20 million tonnes. Meanwhile the share of maize and pulse in the gross grain output is to increase from 8 to 15 per cent.

Because of natural conditions, the USSR is forced to prefer spring wheat to winter wheat, although the former's yields

are only 50 per cent of the winter wheat's. Severe winters render it risky to increase areas sown to winter crops, for it is considered about normal if winter crops on 10 per cent of the fields (and sometimes, up to one-third) are destroyed by frost.

Droughts cause still greater dfficulties. In the period between 1951 and 1982 the Soviet agrarian sector has suffered 16 droughts (i.e., one every other year). And nearly half the droughts affect over one-fourth of the fields sown to crops.

On the whole, the USSR grows about three-fourths of its grain in the risk farming zones. The biopotential of farming in the Soviet Union (i. e., the temperatures, precipitation, quality of soil, and the length of the vegetation period) is assessed as 2,4 times lower than in the USA, 2.2 times lower than in France, 1.7 times lower than in West Germany, and 1.5 times lower than in Britain.

## DROUGHTS AND THEIR ROLE IN GRAIN GROWING IN THE USSR (1951—1982)

nature of drought fall in grain —crop yields (in per cent)		occurrence of similar droughts (once in)	· :	yea	rs
extremely severe	30 – 40	100	•	1975	
Severe.	20-30	years 10-15 year	1963,	1965,	1981
strong	10-20	5—7 years	1954,	1955,	1927
•			1967,	1972,	1979
	•		1980		٠ ,
medium	5—7	, 4 years	1951,	1964,	1969
			1974,	1982	

Along with that, the USSR is not inclined to make a fetish of the importance of the climatic factor, the more so that life shows that farms in similar natural conditions more often than not achieve very different results. At some farms in Moscow's latitude, with natural conditions not too beneficial, up to 5 and more tonnes are grown on one hectare of fields. Improvement of technology, and more fertilizer are among key ways of raising yields.

More than half the planned increase in grain yields over the next few years is to be obtained at the expense of using more fertilizer and pesticides. As it is, an insufficient amount of fertilizer is being spread now. This particularly concerns organic fertilizer ( the average figure being 4.2 tonnes per hectare of the arable land, as against the recommended 7 tonnes and upwards). Hence the planned increase in the organic fertilizer spread over the fields: from up to 1.2 billion tonnes in 1985, to about 1.5 billion tonnes in 1990. As for mineral fertilizer, there is a deficit of phosphatic one. Calculations show that an optimal amount of this would mean a yield 30 million tonnes higher. More phosphatic fertilizer will be mined, in particular, at new rich

deposits tapped in Siberia.

The further development of land reclanation is another important reserve of the oviet agrarian sector. In 1984 alone about billion roubles has been allocated for the jurpose. Since the middle 1960's, the area of irrigated and drained land has more than loubled, to have topped the 33 million lectare mark. By 1990 it is to reach the evel of 41-44 million hectares. Accounting or a little more than one-tenth of the trable land vet, the reclaimed lands are esponsible for than more one-third of the country's crop production, including practicilly 100 per cent of the cotton and rice, twothirds of the vegetables, about half the fruits ind grapes, and up to one-fourth of the odder crops. It is from reclaimed lands that over 70 per cent of the increase in agrtrian crop yields has been obtained over he past 15 years.

The USSR can further increase its irrigated farming area. It is planned before the end of the current decade to complete. in the main, the building of projects to transfer part of the water resources of the North European region of the USSR to the Volga basin. This will enlarge the capacities for agricultural development in the lower reaches of the Volga and in the North Transcaucasia. A still larger project is that of transferring part of the waters of the Siberian river Ob to the arid areas of Kazakhstan and Central Asia. This is to guarantee maize yields of up to 20 million tonnes. This project is more complicated (ecologically, too) so it will have to be

further comprehensively considered.

One should not think however, that the Soviet Union is going to solve all of. its agrarian problems through extensive methods. The huge potential which has already been amassed enables the country to obtain important results at the expense of its more effective and rational use. Thus in making agricultural machinery an equipment, an ever stronger accent is made on their quality and maintenance. Also very urgent is the problem of raising the level of preservation of agrarian prode uce. The effect which can be obtained here is comparable, and sometimes even higher than the planned increases in the output. The structure of capital investments is also undergoing corresponding changes: here investments into the branches involved in the transportation, storaging and processing of the agrarian output have been growing at priority rates.

Generally speaking, the policy of the intensification of agriculture in the USSR can be illustrated by the following comparison. Whereas in the 1970's the ratio was 3-5 per cent increase in capital investments to each per cent of the growth in agricultural output, it is planned to substantially change that correlation in the 1980's, so that a less than 1 per cent increase in capital investments would be responsible for each per cent of the growth in agricultural output.

APN 12.9.84

### "TODAY I GAIN YOU TRULY"

(Translation from "Sesh Saptak", The Poets' latest work.)

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I neglected to appraise your worth, being blindly sure of my possession.

The days followed each other and the nights, carrying your offerings to my feet.

I looked at them through the corner of my eyes as they were being sent to my storehouse.

April's honeysuckles added their scent to your gifts, the full-moon of the autumn night touched them with its glimmer.

Often you poured the flood of your dark tresses upon my lap and your eyes swam with tears while you said:

My tribute to you, my king, is pitifully meagre;

I have failed to give you more, not having any more to give.

The days follow each other and the nights,
but you are no longer here today.

I come to open at last my store house,
and take up the chain of the jewels,
that came from your hands, on my neck.

My pride that remained indifferent
kisses the dust where you left your footprints.

Today, I gain you truly,
for with my sorrow I have paid the price of your love.

Chandernagore 26. 6. 35

### Indian and Foreign Periodicals

### RAMMOHUN ROY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

When great ones of the world appear, they bring conflict with them; or their coming has no significance. When Ram Mohun Roy came into this country he refused to move with the turbid mass which flowed down the current to degeneracy and which resisted him as an enemy every minute up to the last; for it is the housility of the unenlightened mediocre that measures the magnitude of the Great.

In the history of a nation, Man marches onward ever amending, ever conquering himself with the help of his own innate, conscious principle, only so long as his character has its vigorous vitality. As we have the strength to walk, our every step is a challenge to the constant pull of the earth; inertia besets us on all sides, and each of the organs of the body is ever engaged in fighting it. The heart goes on, night and day, in sleep as in waking; while the enormous passivity of things stands up against that unremitting exertion.

The life-process is, in fact, this neverending struggle, this continual warfare between the intert and the living forces, between the battalion of malady and the bat alion of health. If this incessant struggle weakens, if the forces of rigidity, as against the energy of movement, gain the upper hand in our physical system, then the human body grows more and more clogged with the filth of wastage till death releases it of its noxious accumulation.

The social body, too, is a living organism; and all its evils find their apportunity when its own energy grows sluggish. Then its life force trained in fighting, easily makes truce with dull intellect; feeble will, with perverted faith and poverty.

The history of India had been standing stagnant for a long time, giving up in weariness of spirit all independent seeking of truth, the mantulness of recognising evil with resistance, while venerating its own deterioration. One by one almost all the lights of its life had become dimmed through poverty of food, poverty of health and poverty of intelligence. We reached that final defeat of man which comes when his own will abdicates in favour of some external will that belongs either to his own anachronistic past or to some alien imposition.

Ram Mohun Roy took up his mission in India at the period when the country, in its inanity extending over centuries, had come to regard a life of vegetation as tholiness, But it was not in him to follow the path of feeble mentality by repeating worn-out formulas; he refused the humiliation of being the acclaimed leader of the flattered multitude, by using its weakness as the loundation for his power; he was never frightened by the unintelligent antagonism of the threatening crowd with its upraised stick.

Only a very few people in the whole world could in that age express in their belief and their lives Man's birthright of freedom and his fundamental unity as Ram Mohun had done. His whole life was a protest against weakly surrendering the liberty of conscience and intellect to blind acceptance of injunctions, religious or social, which only offer compulsion and deny reason. He realised that religion becomes the most potent factor in menacingly separating man from man when the harned wire fence of its nonessential formalism is considered to be more valuable than the inner significance. worldiness of sectarian piety had called up pride, hatred and strife, and inundated the whole world with blood, to a degree impossible for any secular cause. It was in such an age of religious exclusiveness that he had gained in his heart and expressed in his observances the Universal background of Religious Truth.

Even to this day, the realisation of human unity is hampered throughout the world by prejudices born of blind instinct, or bred by deliberate training. Therefore in the civilised world it is daily growing dangerous to live up to one's faith in a New Age which sends its call for bringing together all the human resources in konw-

ledge and in moral co-operation. Ram Mohun Roy, however, was the foremost of those brave spirits who have stood up. in the face of hostility and misunderstanding, and who in all their varied activities have eloquently welcomed the spirit of this New Age which still remained at the horizon of a far away sunrise. He was the herald of India, the very first to bear her offerings to the outside world, and accept for himself and his country the best that the world could offer. He had envisaged in its entirety the truth of man, and therefore his service to his country became complexly many-sided, never narrowing its path of welfare by following the line of least resistance or of immediate expediency.

More than one hundred years have now gone by, but the true recognition of his greatness still remains incomplete: even today it is not an impossibility for his own countrymen to do him irreverence. But let us hope that the day will come when the country will climb to that altitude of unobstructed perspective, free from the density of prejudices, which is essential for realising Ram Mohun's place in our history and his world-encircling magnanimity of soul. Those of us who have received from him the inspiration to accept man in the complete dignity of his truth may feel deeply hurt at each insult levelled at him, but his own greatness remains unperturbed, which, in the face of all contumely, will continue to sow seeds of fulfilment in the very heart of ingratitude itself.

Reprinted from 'The Students' Rammohun Centenary Volume I, Calcutta 1934. For detailed information, please consult the editorial note Bharat pathik Rammohon' Visva-Bharati (1972), note 7, pp. 146.

VISVA-BHARATI NEWS April—June 1984

MOTHER NATURE EFFECTIVELY TREATS
ALLMENTS AT THE DEAD SEA
Bill Clark writes

Ein Bokek—spending a few hours getting a bronze suntan along the stark shares of the Dead Sea is now called "heliotherapy." And taking a refreshing dip in the sea's bouyant waters is classified as a "balneological treatment."

Many people enjoying the Dead Sea sun and water these days are actually patients checking into these popular medical programmes to treat serious diseases....

The e patients are undergoing Israel's climatotherapy programme—a {healing regime in which Mother Nature is the chie physician.

Like many other projects in Israel, climatotherapy is on "old-new" concept. Two thousand years ago, the Jewish historian Josephus Flavius wrote... one should praise the Dead Sea...this salt brings healing to the human body and therefore is mixed into many drugs..."

More recently, however, Israeli scientists have been investigating precisely why the Dead sea area has long been regarded a most salubrious environment. Their findings have been astonishing, and

have opened a path to an entirely new industry—using the climate at the lowest place on earth as a vast natural pharmacy.

#### SEA, SUN AND GOOD AIR

Many People are Famliar with traditional health resorts, such as that popularised by Thomas Mann in The Magic Mountain. Patients went there because the thin Alpine air and plenty of rest were thought beneficial to their health. Israeli medical experts look in the opposite direction — down, down to the Dead sea, where the air is denser than anywhere else on earth.

This means that the patient breathes in 10 per cent more oxygen with each breath. The thicker blanket of air overhead serves as a screen and the patient is better protected from the ultre-violet beta (UVB) rays—the kind which cause sunburn—while he or she can fully benefit from the ultra-violet-alpha (UVA) rays—the kind which causes suntan.

According to a scientific study conducted by Drs. Jonathan Kattan-Byron and David J. Abels, both physicians at the Soroka Medical Center in Beer Sheva and the Israel Health Resorts Authority, "the air at the Dead Sea area is among the purest in the world, and because of the absence of pollution (industry, traic, vegetation), it is ideal for the relief of respiratory allergies".

The water is as beneficial as the air. The extremely high salt concentration (ten times that of the ocean) means no microorganisms can exist there — hence the name Dead Sea. This also means there

is no danger from coming into contact with bacteria and fungi which are harmful to health. Also, the very dense concentrations of other minerals in the sea have definite therapeutic benefits. Magnesium, for example, is a common ingredient in many skin ointments and is well known for its ability to soften and cleanse skin. Bromine, in the air as well as in the water, is recognised for its relaxing effects on the nervous system.

The high concentration of minerals also makes the waters of the Dead Sea very dense so that swimmers float effortlessly. Physicians exploit this phenome, non as a means of treatment for patients with rheumatism and those suffering from muscular and joint diseases as well as people recovering from various forms of paralysis. According to Dr. Kattan-Byron and Abels, the Dense Sea water facilitates "the movement of painful, swollen and stiff joints, thus allowing physiotherapeutic exercises."

One of the big boons to medicine has been the treatment of psoriasis and other skin diseases at the Dead Sea. Psoriasis is a common disease which afflicts two per cent of people everywhere. So far doctors are able to control psoriasis but there is no cure as yet.

Until recently, PUVA (Photochemotherapy Ultra - Violet-Alpha) treatment had been considered among the most promising control measures. But recent studies suggest that this radiation based therapy may be carcinogenic — so the treatment could be more frightening than the disease itself. Other methods, including drugs, ointments and hospitalisation, have had only modest successes.

The Kattan-Byron and Abels climatotherapy treatmeant for psoriasis at the Dead Sea, however, has produced some very promising results. In a scientific study of 137 patients being treated for the disease, Israeli physicians found 61 per cent experienced complete disappearance of the disease's symptoms and another 26 per cent showed "excellent improvement" Another 11 per cent showed "considerable improvement."

The psoriasis treatment is essentially little more than a vacation by the Dead Sea. If lasts from two to four weeks and involves sunbathing and swimming for prescribed periods each day. Simple perparations, such as petroleum jelly, are used to begin softening the problematic skin areas. Patients are examined daily by a medical doctor and nothing artificial—from drugs to sunlamps—is used.

The patients have ample opportunity to dine properly, socialise dance or engage in sports. Indeed, the attending physicians believe that such activities shared by patients with similar problems provide a psychotogical stimulus to recovery.

Medical insurance organisations in West Germany, Holland and Denmark have recognised the medicinal benefits of the Dead Sea climatotherapy; they cover their subscribers expenses during their stay at the Dead Sea. In the United States, the matter is presently being studied by Blue Cross and Blue Shield.

News from Israel
August 1984

#### INDIA SAVES HER WILDLIFE

#### A. B. Chaudhuri\* writes:

India's rich, magnificent and varied wildlife in diverse zoo-geographic, ecoclimatic and phytogeographic zones has been her traditional heritage and priceless assets. The beauty and variety of wildlife resources have no limit. More than 500 species of mammals, 1200 species of avifauna and 30000 species of insects, 900 species of reptiles and myriads of other living organisms stand unsurpassed in her faunal resources matched by her equally diverse vegetation types.

Thé animals include magnificent gigantic elephants associated with the splendours of our princely pageantry, largestt bovine such as gaur or Indian bison. rhinoceros considered the the horned greatest of all rhinocers, the swamp deer. the breath-taking spotted deer and lastly the picturesque nilgai and the like. There are no parallels to our stately lion, the magnificent tiger, the splendourous clouded leopard, the dazzlingly painted vermillio bass. Of these highly diversified and colourful faunas in India today, some however, are on the verge of extinction. nately these fauna are exhibiting retrogressive tendencies owing to biotic interferance.

### UNIQUE BIOGEOGRAPHIC REALM

India has a unique bio-geographic position which is in the confluence of palearctic Ethiopean, Indo-Malayan and Indo-chinese realms of fauna and possess a number of components from each of these realms. The Ethiopean region is represented by chinkara, the hyena and the ratel; the palearctic by lynx, wolf,

markhor, urial and hangul; the Indo-Chinese by red-panda and the mask deer; the Indo-Malayan by the hoolock and gibbon, the elephant, the goat antelope, and the mousedeer.

India along with south-eastern Asia forms a part of the oriental region. is one of the six great geographical realms into which the earth is divided. these realms supports its characteristic animal life. The Indian region has varying physical characteristics along with a great variation in climate and vegetation. Zoogeographically India can be divided into several zones which are: (i) Malabar coast. (ii) Main peninsula, (iii) Gangetic plain. (iv) Indian desert, (v) Deccan thorn desert, (vi) Puniab and its semi-arid desert. (vii) Ladak and its cold desert, (viii) Assam and contiguous hills, (1x) Wooded hill slopes of the Himalays, (x) Andaman and Nicobar islands. etc.

The distinct zones are indicative of the richness of fauna of the Indian sub-continent from ecological and bio-ecological points of view. India's unique diversity in fauna stems from her ecological variations typified by hot rainless deserts, cold snow bound mountain peaks and wet and soggy rainy regions.

#### NATIONAL WILDLIFE ACTION PLAN

It is relevant to mention here that a National wildlife action plan has been drawn by the Department of Environment. It identifies ten important phases of actions as shown under:

 Establishing a net work of scientifically protected areas such as national parks, sanctuaries and biosphere reserves to cover adequate geographical areas

- (ii) Developing appropriate systems of management concerning protected areas and restoration of the degraded areas.
- (iii) Building up a professional cadre of personnel fully trained for the management of sanctuaries.
- (iv) Providing corridors linking all the sanctuaries of a particular area or zone.
- (v) Rehabilitating indigenous, endangered and theatened species of fauna and flora.
- (vi) Supporting the managemet of captive breeding programmes for plants and animals.
- (vii) Developing research and monitoring facilities,
- (viii) Promoting support for wildlife education and research.
- (ix) Revising statutory provisions providing protection to wildlife and regulating all forms of trade in wildlife.
- (x) Enlisting support from and collaborating with voluntary bodies and agencies in the total wildife conservation effort.

### THREATENED AND ENDÁNGERED SPECIES

This article is not the proper place to

give a comprehensive list of the threatened species of fauna and avifauna. Several species have been extinct and many others are th eatened with extinction. The hunting leopard, the two horned rhinoceros and the pink headed duck are few amongst others which have been extinct. At least seventy one species of mammals, seventeen species of amphibians and reptiles and forty seven species of birds face the threat of extinction. Apart from the vertebrates. crustaceans are also on the point of extinction and special mention in this connection may be made of the robber crab of south sentinel island.

The time is ripe for the conservationalists to devote more attention to keep alive the following species to preserve India's rich faunal diversity and take remedial measures.

Mammals—Binturong, black buck, brown antlered deer or thamin, caracal clouded leopard, desert cat, dungong, fishing cat, golden cat, golden langur, Himalayan thar, hispid hare, Indian lion, Indian wild ass, Indian wolf, red penda, lion-tailed macaque, loris, marble cat, mouse deer, musk deer, pigmy hog, one horned rhinoceros, snow leopard, swamp deer, urial, wild buffalo and others.

Amphibians and reptiles—Gharial, mugger, salt-water crocodile, agra-monitor lizard, greensea turtle, hawk-bill turtle, salamander, Indian egg eating snake, leathery turtle, logger-head turtle, olive black logger head sturtle, viviparous toad, water monitor and many other species.

Birds—Andaman teal, bengal florican, black-necked crain, blood pheasant, narco-

ncom hornbill, nicobar megapode, nicabar pigeon, monal pheasant, lammergeur, great Indian bustard, spotted owlet, jerden's courser and other specie Crustacea Eabber crab.

#### ENDEMIC ANIMALS

The endemic species are not safe as they are confined to a very restricted habitats. Those with long range of distribution are comparatively safer. Many species which were once wide spread have now been driven to a very limited area owing to destruction of habitats.

Species now confined to small area—Massish crocodile, gharial, One-horned rhinoceros, swamp deer, black buck. The asiatic lion, Royal Bengal tiger, white winged wood duck, the mountain quail; the great Indian bustard, the bengal florican, the spotted owlet, the lion tailed macaque, red panda, the caracal, the Indian clouded leopard, the Indian tiger, the snow leopard, the one horned rhinoceros, the wild ass, the pigmy hog, the himalayan musk deer, the black buck, the wild buffalo, the gaur etc.

Endemic species—Narcondom hornbill, nicobar megapode, robber crab, Jerdon's courser, the nilgiri langur, brow antlered deer, the hispid hare, the markhor, the nilgai tahr, the wild yak etc.

#### NATIONAL PARKS, WILDLIFE SANC-TUARIES AND OTHER RESERVES

India's vast wildlife resources have suffered a wide-scale annihilation during the period from 1940-1970. It is to the credit of the foresters of India that they have been able to preserve most of its fauna from being extinct in her national parks and wildife sanctuaries. But time has not yet come for complacency. In spite of several wildlife and game preservation acts having been passed outlawing indiscriminate killing of wildlife, national parks and wildlife sanctuaries have become the main refuge of wildlife.

India should feel satisfied, but not complacent for having saved its wildlife in entirety including those threatened in its 47 zoological parks, 52 national parks and 223 wildlife sanctuaries covering an area of about 90000 sq. km. (figure up to 31, 12. 79). These parks and sanctuaries are distributed all over the country covering 110 climax types, 23 sub-types, 24 edaphic types, 22 seral types and 6 degraded types.

Conservation projects for endengered species like hangul (1970), lion (1972), tiger (1973), crocodile (1974) and brow anthered deer (1981) are sincere efforts to protect some threatened species.

The national parks have been set aside for the protection and conservation of outstanding natural and plant communities for geological formations and for scenic beauties for the enjoyment of present and future generations in a manner consistent with scientific, cultural, educational and economic purposes. The wildlife sanctuaries have, however, been set aside for conservation and management of wildlife and the protection and management of habitats...

# SANCTUARIES IN VARIOUS GEOGRAPHICAL ZONES

According to Champion and Seth two major types of vegetation cover about 70./-

forest types of India : these are opical moist deciduous (30.9%), tropical dry deciduous (38.7./·). Other types are -tropical evergreen (6%), tropical and semi-evergreen (2.5%), littoral and swamp  $(0.9 \cdot /.)$ , thorn forests  $(6.9 \cdot /.)$ , montane wet temperate (2.1%), moist temperate (3.6%), dry temperate (0.3%), and others (8.4%). Of the distribution of parks and wildlife sanctuaries, the western ghat areas have 32, the western himalayas 33, the eastern ghats 15. Bhutan and Nepal 10, the eastern himalayas 15, the Mangrove sites 3, the Indogangetic plains and foot hills 25, dry deciduous and scrub forest areas 80 and the balance in other areas 20.

### REHABILITATION OF ENDANGERED SPECIES

#### (SOME MAJOR ONES) .

Crocodiles and gharial—At least 25 sancturies and parks offer protection to salt water crocodile, marsh crocodile and gharial. Massive breeding programmes have been undertaken to protect these reptiles. These may be seen at Manjira, Corinaga, Satkosia, Jawahar sagar, Krishna Lanjamagadu, Chambal, Bhagabatpur, Nagarjun sagar, Guindy, Nandankanan, Katerniaghat, Amrawati Kinnersani, Manjira and at several other places.

One horned rhinoceros—This rare animal is being given protection at Kaziranga, Manas, Sonai-Rupa, Orang, Lakhawa, Jaldapara (all in India) and at Chitwan-Rapty valley (in Nepal).

Tiger—In all the thirteen project tiger areas this animal is said to be breeding to expectaion. Sunderban is a unique site.

Wild buffalo—This rare animal is receiving attention in Kaziranga, Manas, Lakhawa, Garampani, and at Kutru W. L. Sanctuaries.

Black buck—This rare animal is being given adequate protection in Taroba, Pocharam, Kewak, Bori Valadar, Gir, Siriska, Ratapam Panch, Kenawat, Kaimar, Tadwai Nagarjun Sagar, Tungabhadra, and Kanha national parks and sanctuaries.

Nilgai—This animal is being well looked after at Ranthambhore, Siriska, Yawal, Jaisamad, Nawagaon, Pochamarhi, Porch Gir Najira and Gomardha sanctuaries and national parks.

Florican—It has a very limited distribution probably in Orang in Assam.

Mouse deer—This animal is being given protection at Molem, Dalma, Borvili and Simlipal wildlife sanctuaries.

Wild ass—The only sanctuary where it is getting protection is in Rann of Kutch.

Musk deer—This animal is getting protection at Dachigaon, Rajparian, Chismnai, Rohru, Tundah, Talsa, Kinnarnur and Rajgarh W. L. Sanctuaries.

Ibex, Bhoral and Markhor—At the sanctuaries at Rohru, Tuda, Kugli, Kelatop and Khajyor this animal is getting protection.

Swamp deer—At Kanha, Kaziranga, Dudwa Parks this animal has been safely breeding.

Flamingo—This bird is to be seen over

a limited area in Chilka and Nalsaravar.

Pelican- This bird is to be seen at Chilka, Kolleru and Nelapattu W. L. Sanctuaries.

Hangul—This animal is to be seen only at Rajparian sanctuary in Kashmir.

Narcondom hornbill—It is to be seen only at Narcondom inland sanctuary.

Robber crab—In the south sentinel island this crustacea can be seen.

Brow antiered deer—Keibul Lamjao National park in Manipur is the only home of this deer.

Great Indian Bustard—This can only be seen at Bustard WLS in Maharastra, Desert WLS at Rajasthan, and at Ranebennur WLS at Karnataka.

Golden Langur—Only to be seen at Manas WLS and to the west of the Sanctuary.

White tiger—It no longer can be found in forests.

# OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF A FEW NATIONAL PARKS, AND SANCTU-ARIES

Of 224 wildlife sanctuaries and national parks some of the sites have special features as (i) Wide coverage of latitudinal, longitudinal and altitudinal ranges, (ii) High density of animals species, (iii) High density of individual species, (iv) Rich floral species and (v) Diversities of sites—These qualities may be found in many parks and sanctuaries, but some special sites are:

Kanchanjungha national park in Sikkimfulfils the above qualities (i), (iv) and
(v). Snow leopard, clouded leopard,
binturong, red panda, tibetan wild ass,
blue sheep, takin, musk deer, marble
cat and myriads of insects, butterflies
and moths and bird are special feature
of this sanctuary.

Namdhapa WLS in Arunachal Pradesh—It is fulfils the condition as the aforesaid one.

Corbett national park—It fulfils the afores requisites (ii) (iii), (iv) and (v).

Similpol Tiger reserve—It fulfils the qualified (iv) and (v).

Kanha national park—It fulfils the qualicate (ii), (iii), (iv), and (v).

Kaziranga national park—It fulfils the requirements (ii) to (v).

Nandadevi, Kedarnath and Valley of flowers sanctuaries—These fulfil requiremain (i) (iv), and (v),

Sunderbans tiger reserve—It has the qualities (ii) to (v).

WLS complex—Probably one of the sites fulfilling all the conditions.

Abundance of chital in Palamau, Kaileha, Corbett and Bandipur, Sambar at Ranthanbhore, Swampa deer at Kaziranga and Dudwa, Hog deer at Kaziranga, and wild buffalo at Kaziranga are some notable features.

### WILDLIFE RESEARCH

Research in the field of wildlife is still in the incipient stage. The study of varieties of flora and fauna, their interaction symbiotic relationship, diseases, breeding etc. offer rare opportunities for research. Few countries in the world will be able to offer such diverse opportunities.

## DECLINE IN ANIMAL SPECIES AND REGRESSION

During the last few centuries the vertebrate fauna has reduced considerably. Their composition was more complex. The intensity of this impoverishment is high. There has been qualitative and quantitative decline in the number of genera and individuals of species leading to a high degree of regression. The degree of such regression surpasses that of faunal impoverishment.

> Science & Culture December 1984

### SOUTH ASIA'S QUEST FOR AN IDENTITY AND SARC

P. K. Mishra writes

Scholars of international politics in the post-war period have devoted considerable attention to identify a number of distinct geographical regions of the world for the purpose of undertaking an indepth analysis of their behaviour patterns in the global, inter-regional and intra-regional spheres. Many such studies have been

oneered by scholars like Louis J. Cantori, Steven L. Spiegal, Ernst Haas, Karl Deufsch, Bruce Russet, Michael Brecher, etc. For instance, one comes across a large number of independent studies on areas like West Europe, East Europe, Latin America, West Asia, Africa, etc. These studies have highlighted the clearly discernible attributes of a specific region. At times, they have made an indepth analysis of their behaviour pattern both in global or regional forms. Besides several attempts have also been made to carve out a special identity for some of the above mentioned regions.

So far as South Asia is concerned, admittedly, it has not drawn much attention of scholars. Many Western scholars in course of their reflections on the Third World, have either minimised the importance of South Asia in the global area or have brought it together with the Southeast Asian region for the purpose of viable analysis of the so-called Southern Asian sub-system....

This study will mainly respond to the following questions. First, does Asia ut into the clear demacation of global regions? If so, what are its peculiarities? Second, can one identify the relationship between the core and periphery in a region in terms of cooperation and integration only, or alternatively, can it also be determined in terms of conflict and disharmony ? Third, can one assume that the emergence of SARC is a major landmark for the South Asian sub-continent? Does it enhance its claim for a special identity in international politics? Finally, having initially overcome the preliminary obstacles for regional cooperation, are the ruling elites in South Asia really serious about intitutionalizing major cooperative ventures after the forthcoming summit meeting in late 1985?

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# EMERGENCE OF THE CONCEPT OF REGION

Till the beginning of the present century, studies on foreign policies had nation states as their major focus. Even after the end of the First World War, the psychological reaction against balance of power politics. leć to an universalistic approach. However, with the failure of the League of Nations. the return of alliance theory. demands of security during the Second World War, the concept of the region came in vogue. Such a concept initially had an eurocentric thrust. In the late forties however, two significant phenomena occurred: (a) the emergence of the USSR and the USA as formidable super powers competing for demination and control on a global scale and (b) the emergence of a large number of recently decolonised "new" states. It was assumed that these states would be appendages in the polarised world in one form or another and that interactions would be mainly in the nature of reactions to the initiatives of powerful states-their former metropolis or the newly emergent super powers....

Such an assumption was belied by: (a) the successful attempts at organisation on a regional basis in Europe as well as Latin America or even the Economic Commissions organised under the United Nations and (b) the change in the international environment. The movement of Cold War from detente and bipolarity to multipolarity has made it possible for the region to emerge as a significant force in the international arena.

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### SOUTH ASIA AS A DISTINCT RECIONAL SYSTEM

In the context of South Asia, mention needs to be made of the writing of authors like Michael Brecher who have argued that South Asia is a sub-system of the "subordinate" system of Southern Asia. Pejorative connotations of these two to a subordinate system aprly fits what he implies as the South Asian "sub-system?. The six characteristics which he presents for delineating the subordinate system are as follows:

- 1. Its scope is limited with primary's stress on a geographical region;
- 2. There are at least three actors;
- 3. Taken together they (the member states) are objectively recognise by other actors as constituting industinctive community, region, or segment of the global system;
- 4. The members identify themselves as such;
- 5. The units of power are relating inferior to units in the dominant system using a sliding scale of power in both; and
- 6. Changes in the dominant system have greater effect on the sub-ordinate system than the reverse.

Taking Brecher's characterisation of the Southern Asian subordinate sy common one can argue equally well, if not by that South Asia is a distinct regional sy on the following grounds. At the outset, it

that certain infrastructon common history. hage and culture give a aracter South Asia as different eighouring West Asia and Soutin Thus, the concept of the outhern Asian subordinate system, which presupposes the clubbing together of South and Southeast Asia, is both arbitrary and impractical. Besides, there is no doubt shout the fact that the entire South Asian egion represents an integrated geo-strategic init. Unless the regional actors, especially ndia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Malde ves and Sri Lanka ultimately plan and coordinate their defence policies, the entire egion remains vulnerable to external ressure.

Separated from West Asia by the massve Karakoram Himalayan range that runs or over two thousand miles, the South Asian regional system, because of its nortjern border touching the southern flanks of both the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China, acquires an added significance in the global strategic planning. ·The location of South Asia places it almost as a midway junction between the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Both these regions are broadly considered as sensitive and strategic regions of the world. South Asia thus provides, in this respect, a safe entry into the Persian Gulf, on the one hand and to the Malaccan Straits on the other. The Indian Ocean which is in the close vicinity of the South Asian region (and of which the littoral states of the kregion are a part), has in recent times quired a major significance in global E ategic calculations particularly since the Pirmmissioning of a nuclear-powered US base in Diego Garcia.

Organizational channels like a regionwide legislative and executive body, security machinery, or a common judicial system, do help the states of a region to integrate amongst themselves. From such a perspective, in South Asia one does not come across any such organisations like the Council in the Middle East and the Inter-American Council of Jurists. Why is it that such regional organisations have not emerged in the South Asian region? What have been the imponderables in this respect?

Before attempting to answer such questions, it is necessary to note that, more often than not, the South Asian region is treated to be synonymous with the subcontinent which comprises India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Maldivas and Sri Lanka....

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### SARC TAKES SOUTH ASIA TO THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

The late President Zia-ur-Rahman of Bangladesh formally introduced the idea of regional coperation in South Asia **1980.** In the meantime, a number of meetings at the level of foreign secretaries of the seven South Asian countries have in various been held state capitals. As a result of open consultations and informal meetings among the officials, a number of misperceptions about the basic idea of cooperation have been removed. No doubt the initial reluctance of, both India and Pakistan to go along with the smaller South Asian states (Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Maldives) specially cast a shadow over the future of SARC.10 But slowly New Delhi and Islamabad took a positive stand, although they are

not yet very enthusiastic about any instituional arrangement for regional cooperation in South Asia. The Foreign Secretaries, in the course of their several rounds of talks, have identified nine broad areas and have appointed working groups for indepth studies in each area. These groups broadly cover the areas of agriculture, social development, population control, meteorology, post and telegraph, telecommunication, science and technology, tourism, sports, arts and culture.

In order to give a major push to the movement, the Foreign Ministers of the South Asian states formally met in new Delhi during July 1983. A modest but practical scheme for cooperation was launched by them through the SARC Document released at the end of their deliberations. They approved the formation of a perman-Committee of ent Standing Foreign Secretaries which would coordinate all the regional projects. Several coo perative technical committees were to be formed, whose main responsibilities would be to chalk out the details of the regional projects. They also took some tentative decisions about the financial modalities for all the regional projects. On the one hand there would be internal mobilisation by voluntary contributions of member states for the specific projects and external support from international agencies like the World Bank. IMH, EEC, etc, would be welcome....

Even if the idea of SARC may not really institutionalize through major cooperative ventures within the sub-continent, there are several grounds to support it. A scholar from Bangladesh while analyzing the rationale for South Asian cooperation writes:

These nations must realise that their individual efforts may not be adequate for

development for tion. The best of ice ances, is open to the nations on a regional costs. Sure of development regionalists. It lable to the nations the dynau integration such as economic of external economics, specialisation in eased economic efficiency through an tended market and so on and is likely to make an efficient use of the resources of the region.

While citing another exploratory studin support of his "wishful thinking," 'seems to believe that "all the countries the region, big or small, would reap tadvantages of market enlargement." his view, regional cooperation in the regwould be useful in the two following was First, it would enhance their bargain power with the industrialised North tadwould reduce their dependence on it. Second, the South Asian states "being mare inward looking," can exploit the regional resources more efficiently in an environment of national trust and cooperation....

Nevertheless, the argument advand of by a Sri Lankan scholar is rather more convincing; he suggests that the region of South Asia "is much more of a single ecosystem" in which India and other South Asian nations can profitably participate. In fact there is every reason to support proposition that the South Asian states he everything to gain if systematic efforts made on a regional basis to harness resources of the mighty Himalayas and the vast sea around the sub-continent. course, it all depends on a number of "state and buts." Such cooperation can only but feasible if the political elites of the region

must be an atmosphere of give and Neither the large and comparatively divanced states lindia and Pakistan should ventilate mutual grievances in the regional forums, nor should the smaller states be a says haunted by the fear psychosis of being "hounded by a big brother." It is also an undeniable fact that till the extra-regional powers stop taking undue interest in the intra-regional affairs of South Asia, the idea of SARC cannot really get going.

But as has been highlighted earlier, the atmosphere at present is not really congenial. The security interests of the regional powers like India and Pakistan are quite divergent. There is no complementarity in the economies and developmental strategies of the South Asian states. Resource-wise the region seems to be one of the most backward in the world. Finally no worthwhile regional institution has been developed till now.

Inspite of all these psychological, political, material and institutional hurdles it is really a happy augury that the systematic movement of SARC during the last few years has brought the region into the limelight of international politics. A large number of projects have been undertaken by w research institutions and scholars on feasibility of cooperation in several as. What is also crucial is that India is present heading the non-aligned moveat and has given a dynamic lead to the nations. If the idea of SARC gets a or boost at the present moment, the rint of South Asia in international

irs could be felt with greater intensity.

- India Quartely

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### EXPLODING SOME MYTHS ABOUT THE RURAL EXODUS

Imagine a mass of humanity about twice as large as the whole population of People's China crammed into some 300 big cities. If you can picture it, you have an idea of developing countries in the year 2000 when one in every three inhabitants of our planet will be living in a gizantic Third World metropolis.

Reasons: natural population growth and a massive rural exodus which is gaining momentum year after year.

The flight from villages to towns is nothing new in man's history. But never before has it happened on such a scale and so fast. Steps that have been taken to stem the rising tide have been palliatives at best mainly because they have often been formulated without an adequate knowledge of the causes and consequences of migration. Little is also known whether it is possible and desirable to control the flow. The issue is riddled with unans wered questions and, above all, with persistent myths that obscure the search for solutions.

One popular belief—that the "pull" of bright lights lures country dwellers to the cities-is all wrong. The major determinant in Third World urbanisation is the "push" exerted by the inability of available resources in rural areas to sustain the population that drives the masses from impoverished villages to urban centres.

Fears have been expressed that migration is a major cause of rising urban unemployment, overcrowded housing, and relative shortage of public amenities. Migrants unable to find adequate employment

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or any work at all are forced to live in squatter settlements or inner-city slums lacking even the most basic facilities. The resulting pressure on residential land and housing causes speculation and excessive rents, and generally tends to depress living standards in the urban areas. Similarly migration to the cities does not leave the rural areas unaffe ted: not only does it tend to draw away their more dynamic members, but it may also divert national investment resources towards the towns.

#### POSITIVE EFFECIS

Recent ILO research leads to questioning such prevalent stereotype thinking which tends to dwell only on the negative aspects of rural-urban migration.

Findings by researchers A. S. Oberai and K. M. Singh show that moving to towns may yield substantial benefits to individual migrants and their families and, at the same time, have a positive impact on development.

In the cites, the influx of migrants not only increases the labour supply but also generates new employment by stimulating industrial expansion and other economic activities.

In rural areas, out-migration may lead to a reduction of the labour land ratio and provide a new environment conducive to changing rural production techniques. All the more so since there may be a rising demand from the cities for rural output that stimulates agriculture and rural industrialisation, thus helping to raise incomes of country dwellers.

Similarly, remittances sent home by migrants may improve the distribution of

income between the rural and urban portion, especially where the money is that for investment purposes.

Analysis of urban data suggests migrants do succeed in increasing to individual and household welfare as result of migration. The period of waiting for employment seems to be about two months. Further, although migrate initially at a disadvantage in the urban market, they attain economic state comparable to that of urban natives remarkably brief period of time. There no evidence that migrants are confined marginal employment in the cities, or calculated the disproportionately to urban underemployment.

#### HERE TO STAY

Findings in general suggest that mig tion cannot, or even should not, be conletely controlled since it is a part of whole process of economic growth to social advance.

As the rural-urban drift is here to si and grow, the need is paramount mitigate its adverse consequences in pla of origin as well as destination. Start should be taken to prevent or minimise the resulting social disparities in labout and employment opportunities, skewe urban networks, loss of skilled manpowed in the countryside and problems of slum: squatters and deterioration of urban servi ices. This can only be achieved within the framework of a national migratio policy conceived as an integral compone of the nation's development strategy, linker and harmonised with measures to promo industrialisation, agricultural developme and social welfare

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